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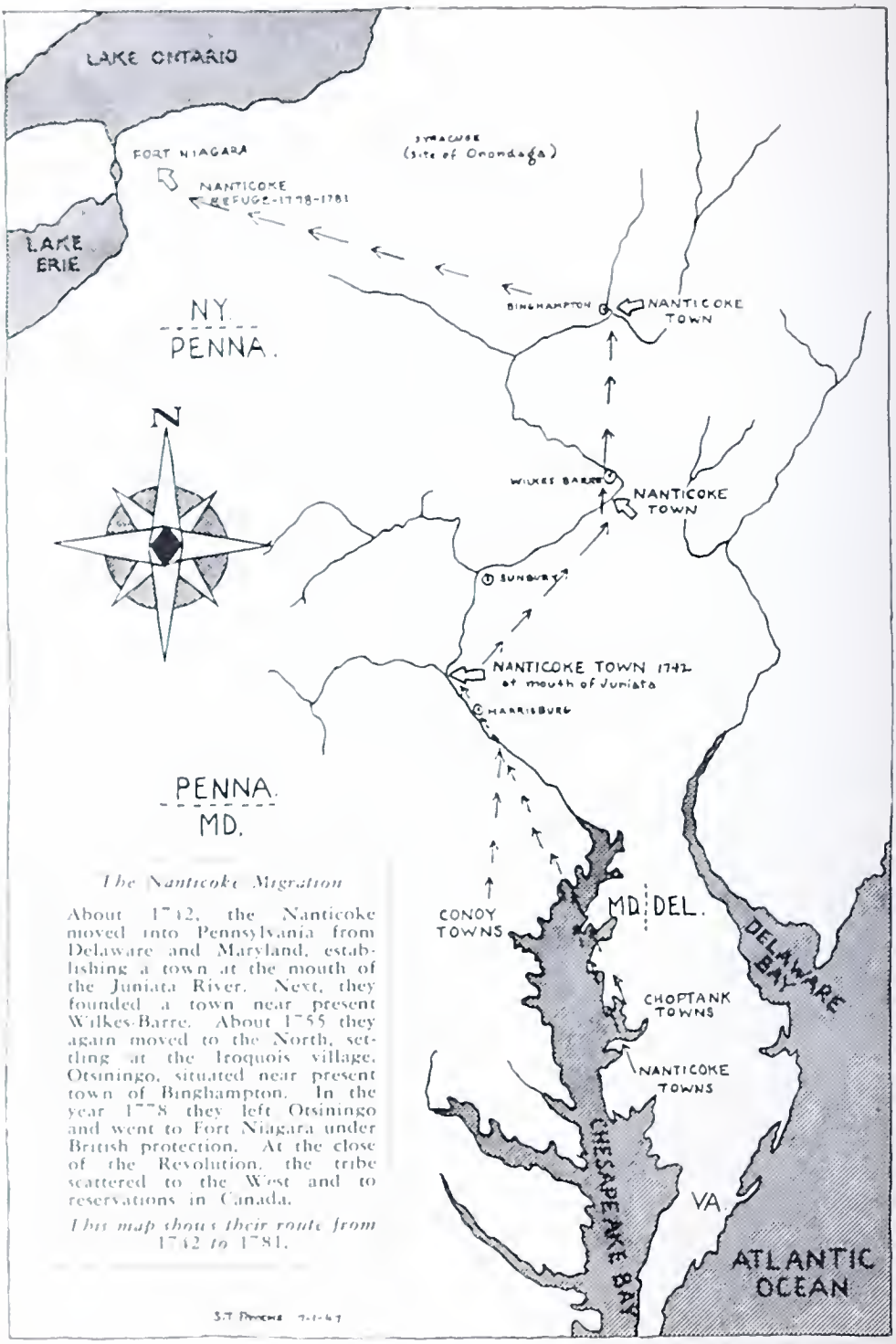
The Nanticoke Indians

A Refugee Tribal Group of Pennsylvania

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL AND MUSEUM COMMISSION

HARRISBURG, 1948



The Nanticoke Migration

About 1742, the Nanticoke moved into Pennsylvania from Delaware and Maryland, establishing a town at the mouth of the Juniata River. Next, they founded a town near present Wilkes-Barre. About 1755 they again moved to the North, settling at the Iroquois village, Otsiningo, situated near present town of Binghampton. In the year 1778 they left Otsiningo and went to Fort Niagara under British protection. At the close of the Revolution, the tribe scattered to the West and to reservations in Canada.

This map shows their route from 1742 to 1781.

S.T. Dreese 7-1-47

The Nanticoke Indians

A Refugee Tribal Group of Pennsylvania

BY

C. A. WESLAGER

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL AND MUSEUM COMMISSION

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INTRODUCTION

THE NANTICOKE tribe was one of a number of American Indian groups who, yielding to white pressure, fled from their native habitat during the early part of the 18th century and sought haven in the Province of Pennsylvania. The student of Pennsylvania history may be vaguely aware that the Nanticoke lived in Pennsylvania for a short period, but the details of this sojourn have been obscured by the passing of time. Furthermore, little has been recorded of the history of the tribe *before* its members reached Pennsylvania, and of their destiny *after* passing through the territory.

The present study is an attempt to present a continuous story, emphasizing the Pennsylvania aspects of the Nanticoke migration, but with due attention to the tribes' ancestral home in Maryland and Delaware, and the post-Pennsylvania period in New York and Canada.

In seeking source material it was necessary to consult the early records of the four states concerned. Although the references to the Nanticoke are scant and scattered, when brought together they represent a considerable body of fact that becomes valid and useful ethno-history. In this connection, one cannot be sufficiently grateful to those who sponsored publication of the archieves of Pennsylvania and Maryland. These records, now readily accessible, contain an amazing wealth of information pertaining to the Indian tribes. Alone these data would stand as isolated historical citations, but when examined in the light of ethnographic information and recent archaeological discovery, they become invaluabe source material.

Originally it was my intention to limit the work, at least at the outset, to the earlier phase of Nanticoke history. In fact, a manuscript tentatively entitled *The Nanticoke, Their Emperors and Estates* was submitted for publication to the Delaware Historical Society, but was later withdrawn when I decided to expand the study into a more inclusive monograph. The material contained in the unpublished essay has been incorporated in the present work.

It is my earnest hope that this monograph will shed new light on a little-known facet of Pennsylvania history, and thus serve a useful purpose. I am deeply grateful to the members of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission who have sponsored its publication. The citizens of the Commonwealth can take pride in the realization that

their historical agency is deeply conscious of the importance of exploring every phase in Pennsylvania's history and recording it with care and accuracy.

I am deeply grateful to Donald H. Kent, Associate State Historian and to Mrs. Elva W. Hamilton for their courtesy, patience and advice in editing the proofs, and to Dr. Claude E. Schaeffer, former State Anthropologist, for recommending the project to the Commission.

A number of persons and institutions made available information which was indispensable in carrying out the study. Among these, I am especially indebted to William B. Marye, the noted Maryland historian, who assisted me not only with advice but by making available documentary records which he alone has been able to ferret out after long study in the Maryland sources. Archibald Crozier, whose short article on the Nanticoke Indians published some years ago by the Archaeological Society of Delaware originally whetted my interest in the tribe, was also extremely helpful.

Others whose names loom high among my benefactors are Dr. Frank G. Speck, L. T. Alexander, Arthur G. Volkman, Dr. Paul A. W. Wallace, Foster Disinger, M. H. Deardorff, Big White Owl (Jasper Hill) a Canadian Delaware, Joseph Montour of the Six Nations Reserve, Harland Carpenter of the Wilmington Institute Free Library, St. George L. Sioussat of the Library of Congress, Mary M. Dudley of Hamilton College and the staffs of the Memorial Library, University of Delaware, the American Philosophical Society, and the Maryland Historical Society for the permission to reprint a copy of the "Plott of the Nanticoke Indian Lands." Seal T. Brooks also merits thanks for making the map and a copy of the "plott."

C. A. Weslager.

Wilmington, Delaware
April 2, 1948

Plott of the Nanticoke Indian Lands
[in CACOAN RESERVATION]
N
Nanticoke River
Nanticoke River
Lott No 7
Lott No 9
Lott No 6
Lott No 8
Lott No 5
Lott No 11
Lott No 10
Lott No 7
Lott No 12
Lott No 3
Lott No 13
Lott No 14
Lott No 12
Public Road
Public Road
Public Road

I

FIRST RECORDS OF NANTICOKE IN PENNSYLVANIA

Beginning in the early part of the 18th century and continuing over a period of years, Pennsylvania experienced an influx of Indian tribes, mostly from the South, who were given safe refuge within the province. Pennsylvania, unlike Maryland, Virginia and other southern colonies, had adopted a paternalistic attitude toward the Indians due to the influence of William Penn, whose kindly treatment of the natives won their friendship. In later years, it is to be regretted that Penn's successors did not display this same kindliness and fairness in their dealings with the "savages," and the fraudulent "Walking Purchase," the whiskey and vices of the white traders, unwarranted massacres of Indians—even the offering of rewards for scalps—all contributed to fostering hate between Indians and whites.

However, at the time of which we write, the Penn Indian policy was still being followed, and the Pennsylvania government was sympathetic to the interests of the natives who lived in Pennsylvania, especially, the *Delawares* and the *Susquehannock,* or *Conestoga,* as they came to be called. It is less generally known that many alien tribes shared Pennsylvania's hospitality, among whom were the *Shawnee, Conoy, Twightwee, Saponi, Tutelo, Tuscarora,* as well as bands of Delaware and *Munsey* who had lived in New Jersey and along the Brandywine in northern Delaware—and, the subject of this study,—the *Nanticoke.* These tribes had all been uprooted from their homes, and their flights into Pennsylvania brought them into close association with each other. There was considerable intermarriage among them, and during their sojourn as refugees in Pennsylvania they frequently occupied the same villages which presumably resulted in an exchange of ideas and practices.

The appearance of these non-Pennsylvania tribes within the province was not entirely due to the hospitality extended to them by the authorities. There was still a deeper cause for their coming together, namely, the circumstances created by native military strategy, especially the natural consequences of the conquests of the Iroquois Confederacy. This confederacy, first consisted of five tribal members, the *Mohawk,*

Onondaga, *Oneida*, *Cayuga* and *Seneca*.[1] To the English they were known as the Five Nations—later the Six Nations when the *Tuscarora* became affiliated. They occupied the territory of New York State from the Hudson to the St. Lawrence and to Lake Erie. It is believed that the Five Nations had confederated previous to 1570, presumably to present a strong front to the Algonkian-speaking Indians with whom they were at war when the whites first made their appearance in America. Much has been written about the Iroquois, and for a complete understanding of their geographical and cultural position, the reader should consult one of these sources.[2] Suffice it to say, for the purpose of this discussion, that the original Five Nations territory extended as far south as the headwaters of the Susquehanna River where the territory of the Susquehannock Indians began. Thus, the Susquehannock Indians stood as a barrier between the Five Nations and the Algonkian tribes of the lower Chesapeake region, such as the *Powhatan* tribes, the Conoy or *Piscataway*, the Nanticoke, and others. By 1675 the Five Nations, who had long warred against the Susquehannock, brought that nation and its territory under control. Thus, by right of conquest, the Five Nations laid claim to the lands in Pennsylvania drained by the Susquehanna River, and it was this territory that they chose to set aside as a place of residence for many tribes that they defeated, and who, because of white pressure, were unwilling to continue dwelling in their native territories.

The Pennsylvania government, following the expert advice of their Indian agents and ambassadors, adopted a policy of strengthening the Five Nations Council and encouraging their hegemony over the subjugated tribes. Their motive was, of course, a selfish one, intended to

[1] After the adoption of the Tuscarora, the Iroquois Confederacy became known as the Six Nations, and the present writer uses both terms in the course of this discussion. *Heckewelder, 1819*, p. xlii, scoffs at the use of the word "nations" insisting that the League was merely one nation composed of five small divisions. The Lenape called them *Mengwe* and the *Mahicanni* referred to them as *Maqua*. Neither tribe used terms to denote "five" or "six nations," apparently a term invented by the white man.

[2] *Fenton, 1940*, summarizes the history of the Iroquois and gives an excellent bibliography of the extensive literature pertaining to the confederacy. See *Speck, 1945 (b)*, a handbook written for the non-technical reader which summarizes Iroquois culture. For a delightful story of Iroquois folklore, the so-called *Deganawidah Legend*, see *Wallace, 1946*.

win over to their side powerful Indian allies to aid them in meeting the French. It proved to be a very successful strategy, as we shall see.

The first Maryland tribe to straggle into Pennsylvania was the Conoy. (They were first known as the Piscataway, as will be discussed in a later chapter, but had almost lost this tribal name before they entered Pennsylvania.) Forced to change their place of abode in Maryland a number of times due to white pressure, they were glad to accept the security of new homes under Iroquois protection. Manangy, an Indian chief living on the Schuylkill, came before Governor John Evans in 1705 on behalf of the "Ganawense or Piscataway Indians" asking that they be permitted to settle at "Turpyhockin." [3] The subsequent route of the Conoy in Pennsylvania was described in 1743 by one of their old chiefs as follows:

"We desire to acquaint our Brother the Governor that our fforefathers came from Piscatua to an Island in Potowmeck, and from thence down to Philadelphia in Old Proprietor Penn's Time, In order to shew their ffriendship to the Proprietor; That after their return they brought down all their Brothers from Potowmeck to Conejoholo [present Washington Borough, Lancaster County] on the East side Sasquehannah, and built a town there.

"That the Indians of the six Nations told 'em there was Land enough, they might chuse their place of Settlement any where above Sasquehannah.

"That accordingly they thought fit to remove higher up Sasquehannah to the Conoy Town [at mouth of Conoy Creek, Lancaster County] where they now live. And on their first settling, the Indians of the six Nations came down & made their ffire, and all the great Men declared the fire of their Kindling in token of their approbation of their settling there; But that now the Lands all around them being settled by white People, their hunting is spoiled, And they have been long advised by the six Nations to leave the place and go higher up the River and settle eaither at the Mouth of Conodgwinnet, Chiniotta, or up at Shamokin. They are come to a Resolution to move up to Shamokin."[4] Shamokin was, of course, the great Indian capital where the town of

[3] *Penna. Col. Records,* II, 191. The word is usually spelled *Tulpehocken* and there was a creek of the same name. The form is probably a corruption of the Algonkian *Tulpewi-hacki* said to mean "turtle land."

[4] *Penna. Col. Records,* IV, 657.

Sunbury is now located, which was occupied by other Indians when the Conoy settled there. It played an important part in the Indian history of Pennsylvania as other Indians gathered there.

At a treaty with the Five Nations at Philadelphia, July 1742, the Conoy were present, and were identified in the official minutes as "Indians of the Nanticokes, by Us called the Cannoyios."[5] Thus it becomes clear that the word Nanticoke was loosely used in Pennsylvania as applied to the Conoy before the Nanticoke proper made their appearance in the State.

The first official notice of the Nanticoke Indians in the records of Pennsylvania occurred at a Council Meeeting in Philadelphia, June 1706. Governor Evans conierred with the chiefs of the Shawnee, Conoy and Susquehannock. The latter were usually termed Conestoga Indians by the authorities from the name of their principal town. At this meeting, Andaggjunguagh, a Susquehannock chief, laid before the Governor a large wampum belt made of 21 rows of white beads, containing three bands wrought in it with black (purple) beads. The belt, he said, was a pledge of peace, "delivered by the Onondagoe Indians, one of the 5 nations to the Nanticokes when they made the said Nanticokes tributaries, that the Nanticokes being lately under some apprehensions of Danger from the five nations, some of them had this spring come up to Conestogoe [the aforementioned Susquehannock town located about four miles southeast of present Millersville, Lancaster County] & brought this Belt with them, and that they had another of the same alsoe at Conestogoe to shew to those of the 5 Nations that were expected shortly to come down to receive the Nanticokes tribute."[6]

This is a highly significant quotation that should not be minimized, for it establishes the fact that the Iroquois had made the Nanticoke tributary to them while the Nanticoke were still occupying their Eastern Shore homes before their entrance into Pennsylvania.

The use of wampum belts as a symbol to signify the peaceful relations then existing between the Nanticoke and the Onondaga is also of great interest. It should be noted that the Nanticoke possessed two identical belts, given to them by their overlords, and, according to native custom, the Iroquois presumably maintained a third belt for their own records.

[5] *Penna. Col. Records*, IV, 585.

[6] *Penna. Col. Records*, II, 246. There may be some connection between the belt and the orders sent by Maryland to the Nanticoke in 1706 cautioning them to pay tribute if they owed any to other tribes, *Md. Archives*, XXV, 201.

The three hands woven into the beads represented the three participants beyond doubt: the Onondaga, the Nanticoke, and probably the *Choptank*, another Eastern Shore tribe which will be discussed in due time. The beads usually used to manufacture such belts were cylindrical in shape, drilled through the long axis, and average in length less than one-quarter inch and in diameter about one-eighth inch. The belts or bands were from several feet in length to several yards, and were usually seven rows wide or wider. Wampum belts, it must be remembered, could not be read literally, but they were interpretable to those who had memorized the symbols in the design. The Iroquois had a Keeper of the Wampum who knew the meaning of each of the strings which the League retained.

Wampum was a necessary device in any discussions with the Indians, and the importance of the meeting was appraised in terms of the quantities and sizes of the belts that were used. A message had no validity unless it was accompanied with wampum, and if the wampum was accepted, then the word was accepted.[7]

[7] *Penna. Col. Records,* VII, 216. Conrad Weiser advised Gov. Morris of the importance of giving the Indians impressive belts of wampum during major negotiations. At this time, the Council was discussing the type of wampum belt to return to the Delaware chief Teedyuskung. Subsequently, the Secretary was instructed to bring all the wampum in his possession to the Council. It consisted of 15 strings, 7 belts and 7000 purple beads. A messenger was dispatched to Bethlehem, and he returned with 5000 additional beads, "Upon which the Indian women were Employed to make a Belt of a fathom long & sixteen beads wide in the center of which was to be the figure of a man, meaning the Governor of Pennsylvania, and Each other side five other figures meaning the ten nations mentioned by Teedeusking."

Wampum beads were highly important to Iroquois rituals because of the religious significance of the beads and allegedly because the traditional founder of the League conceived of the union when he saw shells in a row along a bank. This supposedly suggested a pictorial representation of a confederacy of divided nations united by compact. He is said to have made the first string of ceremonial beads which were to become so important in Iroquois affairs, *Converse, 1908.*

Some of the ancient bead belts are still in existence, one of the oldest being the "peace tomahawk belt" of 15 rows width and containing 5000 beads. It was supposedly given by the Five Nations to conquered Algonkians, *Keppler, 1929.* Also, *Clarke, 1931,* gives an inventory of the wampum belts in possession of the New York State Museum at Albany. In 1898 the Iroquois elected the state as custodian of their wampum records, *Morgan, 1922,* Appendix B, pp. 244-248 discusses Iroquois use of wampum. There are many other references on the subject, too numerous to quote here.

The Nanticoke proper were again mentioned by name in the Pennsylvania documents in the year 1707, at which time they were still residing on the Eastern Shore. Governor John Evans, in company with interpreters, servants and officials visited the Indian settlement Dekanoagah [same as Conejoholo] on the Susquehanna. There he conferred with the Shawnee, Seneca, Conoy and a delegation of Nanticoke "from Maryland" who had been awaiting ten days for his appearance. These Nanticoke delegates were from seven Indian towns in Maryland, named as follows: *Matcheattochousie, Matchcouchtin, Witichquao, Natahquois, Tcahquois, Byengeahtein* and *Pohecommoati*. Unfortunately, the locations of these towns are not given, but in *Nataquois*, one senses an etymological relationship with the word *Nantaquake* (Nanticoke?) a town on the Nanticoke River which Captain Smith shows on his map; *Tcahquois* has similarities in sound with *Tockwogh*, and *Pohecommoati* bears some resemblance to *Pocomoke*. These are discussed in a later chapter.

During the conference, a tobacco pipe was passed from the Indians to the Governor and his party, after which one of the Nanticoke chiefs produced a large wampum belt. It was suspended on a long string from which hung nineteen other belts of like size and a number of strings of single beads. The Nanticoke chief said he proposed to use these beads to renew the league of peace with the Five Nations, and the following conversation ensued, as taken verbatim from the minutes of the powwow:

> Govr: How long have you been at peace with those nations?
> Nant. Ind: 27 years [i. e. since 1680]
>
> Govr: What is the reason then of so many Belts of Wampum & Strings of Beads?
> Nant. Ind: We send them as a tribute.[8]

At the conclusion of this dialogue, one of the interpreters spoke in English to the Nanticokes, who all understood that language, as follows:

"You are going to the Oanondagoes, be sure to keep on your way; many may tell you several things to fright you, and that they are great men, and you will be killed. Yet keep on your way and believe them not, for you will find the King of the five nations a very great one, and as good a king as any amongst the Indians."[9]

[8] *Penna. Col. Records*, II, 387.
[9] *Ibid.*

In this episode, we have further evidence that the Nanticoke had become subjects of the Five Nations. The destination of the Nanticoke was the Iroquois town, Onondaga ("on the mountain"), the capital of the confederacy, first situated in the hills of Onondaga County, New York, and then moved to the Onondaga Valley, near present Syracuse. It was, indeed, a long trip, and the Nanticoke party travelled by canoe up the Chesapeake into the mouth of the Susquehanna, and thence up the stream to its headwaters, completing the last leg of the journey on foot.

The Nanticoke were one of several tribes who made tribute to the Five Nations, for it is made clear in the documents that the Conoy, Susquehannock, and Delaware, who had all fallen under Iroquois dominion, tendered wampum to the victors.[10]

It should here be emphasized that the shell beads were not used as a medium of exchange as we use money today. The concept of wampum as cash or currency was a result of the white man's influence. Native economy did not recognize money, and Speck speaking of the tribute which the Iroquois exacted from the subjected tribes said:

"Its function was that of a symbol, valuable in a spiritual sense and capable of serving the purposes of mnemonic record making. Thus, the wampum tribute we read so much about would seem to be a measure pressed upon subjugated smaller tribes in the shell-bearing coastal regions, requiring them to furnish the wampum the Iroquois needed in the score of ceremonial uses they had developed for it."[11]

As one reviews the proceedings of any one of scores of meetings between the Pennsylvania government and Iroquoian representatives he realizes how important this symbol was to the Indians, and literally thousands of belts were passed between whites and Indians.

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[10] *Penna. Col. Records,* II, 469-471. It is pertinent to add the testimony of a contemporary, *Golden, 1904* that "All the Nations round them have for many years intirely submitted to them, and pay a Yearly tribute to them in Wampum. Two old Men commonly go about every Year or two to receive this Tribute; and I have often had the opportunity to Observe What Anxiety the poor Indians were under while the two Old Men remained in that part of the Country where I was."

[11] *Speck, 1945,* p. 37.

After 1706, the Nanticoke relations with the Iroquois appear to have been very friendly. On one occasion, Ghesaont, a Seneca chief, requested permission of the Pennsylvania authorities to visit the Governor of Virginia to arrange for peace with a southern tribe. In discussing the route he should take, Secretary James Logan arranged that the "Chief of the Nanticokes, a sensible man, who was then present, should conduct them [the Iroquois delegation] from Conestogoe to their Town on Wye River[12] that they should be furnished with Provisions for their Journey sufficient to carry them among the Inhabitants, after which, they were directed as the Governor had before ordered that they should produce his Passport to the Gentlemen of the Country where they travelled, by whom they would be provided for: And the Nanticoke Chief was further desired, upon their leaving the Nanticoke towns to direct them to some of the Chief Gentlemen and Officers of those parts who would undoubtedly take care of them on sight of their passports, thereby knowing their business have them transported over the Bay to Annapolis."[13]

On July 12, 1722, seven Nanticoke chiefs stopped at the Conoy Town on the Susquehanna to confer with the chiefs of the Conestogas, Shawnee and Conoy who had gathered there to meet them. The Nanticoke delegation was again enroute from the Eastern Shore to visit the Five Nations taking 32 belts of Wampum and four long strings of beads as their tribute. The reason for their stopping at the Conoy Town was to find an interpreter to accompany them, since none of the Nanticoke could speak the language of the Iroquois.[14]

The news of their arrival was transmitted to Governor Keith at Philadelphia, who sent a letter as follows to Winjack, the Conoy King on the Susquehanna:

"Brother: I have heard that your friends the Nanticokes are now at yr. Town upon their Journey to the five Nations. I know they are

[12] The Wye River lies on the Eastern Shore between the Choptank River and the Chester River. It is some distance from both the principal Nanticoke villages and the Indian villages along the Choptank River. However, the above quotation would indicate that there were villages on the Wye River under the jurisdiction of the Nanticoke, unless the name was used in a sense different from today.

[13] *Penna. Col. Records*, III, 132.

[14] *Penna. Col. Records*, III, 199.

a peaceable People that live quietly amongst the English in Mary Land, and therefore I shall be glad to see them, and will be ready to do them any kindness in my power. I hear they want Capt. Smith for their interpreter, but you know he is engaged with me to go to Albany, and I desire you will send him down to meet me at Phila. about the last day upon this month, because upon the 8th of next month I shall go from Philada. to New York, and I desire Smith may be there to go along with me, and U should be glad also that Tom should come with him because he can speak to me in English. I have ordered Justice Mitchell to give you some flour and bread to entertain your friends the Nanticokes, and I heartily wish you and all your people well in good health."[15]

In the fall of 1743, Conrad Weiser, who served Pennsylvania faithfully for many years as an agent and Indian interpreter[16] journeyed to the Five Nations country to confer with the Council of the League in behalf of the governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania. He travelled "a Long & bad Road over Hills, Rocks, Old Trees, and Rivers, and to fight through a Cloud of Vermine, and all kinds of Poisoned Worms and creeping things." While he was in conference with the chiefs at Onondaga, news came that a deputation of Nanticoke Indians from Maryland had arrived at Cachiadachse, a nearby Onondaga Indian town, where they had been extended hospitality in the cabin of Canassatego, one of the Onondaga chiefs. There were six Nanticokes in the deputation, and since none of them could speak the language of the Iroquois, Weiser served as their interpreter. We have the following account of the ensuing ceremonies in Weiser's words:

"The 30th About noon the Council then met at our Lodging and declared themselves compleat, and a deal of Ceremonies Passed; ffirst the Onondagoes rehearsed the beginning of the Union of the five Nations, Praised their Grandfather's Wisdom in establishing the Union or Alliance, by which they became a formidable body; that they (now living) were by ffools to their wise ffathers. Yet protected and accompanied by their ffather's Spirit; and then the discourse was directed to the

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] See *Wallace, 1945* for an excellent account of the life of Weiser and his participation in Indian affairs.

Deputies of the several nations, and to the Messengers from Onas [governor of Pennsylvania] and Asaryquoa [governor of Virginia] then to the Nanticokes to welcome them all to the Council Fire which was now kindled."

Weiser continues in a description of the Long House ceremonies characterized by speeches and the passing of wampum belts which took all afternoon. The meeting continued for several days, and at one point in the ceremonies:

"The speaker directed his discourse to the Deputies of the Nanticokes who had been there all along present, and said: 'Brethren the Nanticokes, We desire you will prepare for tomorrow and deliver your Message to us; and as you have neither the United Nations, their tongue nor Ear, we have thought fit to hear you speak with our English ear, and to speak to you with our English tongue. There is the man (pointing to me) who is the Guardian of all the Indians.' I was desired to acquaint the Nanticokes with it, which I did, and they were well pleased. They could talk some English, but not one word of the United Nations' Language. *The 1st of August, the Nanticokes spoke, and had their Answer the same day; the whole day was spent about it.*"[17] The italics are mine.

Weiser neglected to tell us what brought the Nanticoke to this important Council meeting, and what business between them and the Five Nations required all day for its consummation.

The explanation of the Nanticoke mission at Onondaga is found in the notes of John Bartram, a naturalist who, with Lewis Evans, accompanied Weiser on the journey.[18] Bartram's observations in this connection are highly significant. He wrote:

"August 1. Six of the [N] Anticoque Indians had an audience, but when they came to it could not make themselves understood, tho provided with an interpreter brought near 700 miles (they said more) but

[17] *Penna. Col. Records*, IV, 660-668.

[18] *Bartram, 1751*, pp. 61-62.

he could not understand the Mohawk Language[19] but only the Delaware and middling English, so they contrived he should direct his speech to Conrad Weiser in English, and interpret this to the council. They have broad belts of Wampum, 3 arm belts and 5 strings; one was to wipe clean all the blood they have spilt of the five nations,[20] another to raise a tumulus over their graves, and to pick out the sticks, roots or stones, and make it smooth on the top, a third to cleanse the stomach of the living from gall or anything else that made them sick, a fourth was a cordial to cheer up their spirits; a fifth to cloath their bodies and keep them warm, a sixth to join them in mutual friendship, *a seventh to request them to let them settle on a branch of Susquehanah,* another to intreat the 5 nations that they would take a little care to protect their women from insults while out hunting, and the rest for like purposes. This business lasted 4 hours, and then we dined on Indian corn, squash, soup and boiled bread . . . The council met at 9 o'clock [the following day] and the kettles of soup and a basket of dumplings were brought in for our dinner; after dinner the [N] Anticoques delivered a belt and a string of Wampum with a complaint that the Marylanders had deposed their king, and desired leave to chuse one for themselves; to this, as well as all the articles opened yesterday, the chiefs returned plausible but subtil answers."

This is an episode in Nanticoke history which has previously not been brought out; namely, their journey in 1743 from Maryland to Onondaga specifically to ask the Iroquois Council to give them permission to move into Pennsylvania and settle along the Susquehanna, and to claim that the whites had insulted their women and deposed

[19] Bartram uses Mohawk to refer to the Iroquoian language in general with which the Nanticoke were not conversant. This was indeed a strange situation —a white man of German ancestry serving as interpreter between two American Indian groups.

[20] The above reference leaves no room for doubt that the warfare between Nanticoke and Five Nations of several years before had occasioned bloodshed. It also indicates that the Nanticoke used wampum extensively in their formal dealings with other tribes, before they had actually come under Five Nations jurisdiction.

their head chief. The Iroquois, as future events reveal, acceded to the request and took the Nanticoke to their bosoms. The subsequent migration of the Nanticoke Indians into Pennsylvania opened up an entirely new chapter in their existence which resulted in a gradual but complete breakdown of their tribal institutions. Before that phase can be presented in its proper perspective, let us turn back the calendar to a period more than one hundred years before and visit the Nanticoke in their ancestral homes.

The Earlier Habitat of the Nanticoke Indians. *Upper,* view along Barren Creek, showing the low, marshy character of the stream banks, and the absence of landing places for canoes. *Lower,* one of the few places along Barren Creek where canoes can be beached, a factor in the selection of this place for a village site.

The Earlier Habitat of the Nanticoke Indians. *Upper*, Nanticoke village site from bank of Barren Creek. Note the shell detritus in field, characteristic of most Nanticoke occupation areas. *Lower*, view of Barren Creek from the same site. The creek empties into the Nanticoke River approximately five or six miles from this point.

II

ORIGINAL NANTICOKE HOME ON EASTERN SHORE

Westward to the blue waters of Chesapeake Bay flows the sluggish Nanticoke River through a flat, sandy costal terrain between Delaware Bay and the Chesapeake. The region has been known for centuries as the Eastern Shore to distinguish it from the mainland on the opposite side of the bay to the west. The Nanticoke actually rises in the State of Delaware, and its long-fingered tributaries maunder through a countryside of grain fields, orchards and low-lying meadows to join the main stream as it winds into Maryland. Its three principal tributaries are Marshy Hope Creek, almost a river in its own right, Broad Creek and Chicone Creek. There are many lesser tributaries, such as Barren Creek, Gravelly Fork, James Branch, Deep Creek, Gales Creek, Chapel Branch, and others among which such Indian names still survive as Wetipquin, Rewastico, Renonco and Quantico. It is not without interest that in the name Marshy Hope one can find an Indian counterpart in the Algonkian word "mashopi" meaning "big water."

At its mouth where it enters Tangiers Sound, an arm of the bay, the Nanticoke is about a mile wide. Along its lower stretches, salt marshes fringe the western shore, making approach from that side very difficult. These marshes are inhabited by muskrats, frogs and tortoises. In the cattails, spatterdocks and pickerel weeds many kinds of birds come to feed, including the fish-hawk, sandpiper, coot, blue and green heron, yellow legs, kingfisher, marsh hawk, long-billed marsh wren, and many other species. Overhead, turkey buzzards are almost always seen lazily riding the winds on motionless wings.

Fish of many species, crabs, eels and turtles come into the stream with the tide and oysters are abundant in the sound. Extending from the banks on both sides of the river are a series of small capes bearing such picturesque names as Roaring Point, Mulberry Point, Gravelly Point, Ragged Point, Chapters Point, Penknife Point, Barren Point, and the paradoxical Point No Point. In the region of the river's mouth, the countryside is bleak, monotonously flat, and uninhabited except by a few fishermen and oystermen whose frame cottages are seen here and there. Bivalve, a small hamlet, is a shipping point for oysters, and two

equally unimportant hamlets, Nanticoke and Tyaskin, preserve Indian names.

About fifteen miles upstream from its mouth, the Nanticoke narrows in width to about half a mile, and larger towns begin to appear. The first is Vienna, which like Sharptown, Eldorado and Federalsburg (the latter two on the Marshy Hope) are all in Maryland. Seaford, a Delaware town, is the largest settlement on the river, and steamboats formerly moved from the bay all the way to the town's wharves. Bethel and Laurel, along Broad Creek in Delaware, are small farming centers.

Although the complexion of the Nanticoke River country has changed in the time that has elapsed since the appearance of the first white men on its banks some 325 years ago, it has suffered less from industrialization than most eastern rivers. Large stands of timber remain intact, several kinds of pine, sour and sweet gum, oak, swamp magnolia, laurel, persimmon, and other native trees. The rabbit, raccoon, squirrel, skunk and opossum are still numerous in the woods, but the wolf, bear and elk have been long extinct. Occassionally foxes, and more rarely, a pair of deer are seen, but the beaver and otter, once fairly numerous along the upper tributaries, have almost all been exterminated. Today, the Nanticoke is the life blood of a region where agriculture and fishing are the principal occupations, and whose environmental factors have contributed to this economy. Before the coming of the whites, the Nanticoke and its tributaries were no less vital to the livelihood of the bronze-skinned natives who inhabited its banks. They were constantly under its influence in their quest for food and in their movements up and down or across the land by canoe. In fact, the Indians were more closely attached to their natural environment than we are today.

The fertility of the soil—the accessibility of fish in the river and furbearing animals in the marshes—the usefulness of the stream as an avenue of trade with other tribes—these and other characteristics shaped the life patterns of the native families who first dwelt along the Nanticoke. They were first called the *Kuskarawaoke*, and later the Nanticoke Indians, and we can expect to find the mood and tempo of the river reflected in their temperament and actions. As products of a river enviroment, the influence of their habitat bound them tightly to their way of life, and clung to them after they were driven from their homes, and pressed northward first into Pennsylvania, and thence to New York, and from there to Canada or the far west. Their history, so

for as the white man's written chronicles are concerned, began in the year 1608.

* * * * * *

It was June and the bright midday sun cast streaks of shimmering gold on the waters of the Chesapeake. The storms of the past few days had passed over, and the wind had died. In the afternoon warmth, the water lay quiet and almost motionless, enlivened only by the sun. A little open boat moved slowly northward, several tattered shirts serving as sails hung limp from a mast improvised from a pine branch. The oars responsible for the craft's movements did not cleave the water with the rhythm of the practised oarsman, and one experienced in the ways of the sea would have quickly seen the inexpertness of the strokes although the oarsmen seemed to bend themselves in full exertion. Their hands were blistered, and their arms and faces burnt red by the sun and wind, for the majority of the fifteen-man crew squeezed into the boat were rank amateurs in navigation. Six of them were English gentlemen; four were soldiers who knew the land but were strangers on the water; another was a "doctor of physike"; and there was a blacksmith, a fishmonger, and one experienced fisherman. In command of this strange crew of Englishmen was an impulsive, reckless soldier of fortune, whose name is known to every school-boy—Captain John Smith.[1] Despite his manly beard, and his background as a veteran in the Turkish wars, he was only 28 years of age, but acknowledged by the others as one best fitted to lead them to places where no white men had previously visited.

Almost two weeks before, the men had boarded the craft at Jamestown, forty miles up the James River estuary, where a year before an English settlement had been made by the Royal Virginia Company. They had set out to explore the bay which lay near to their settlement, and that pine-forested peninsula lying opposite the mainland which was to become known as the Eastern Shore. The excursion was in the nature of a daring adventure to the six gentlemen who came along to see the sights and to seek opportunity for commercialization which they might later boast about when they returned to England. To the others, the trip was in the line of duty, and each been carefully selected for his special ability to cope with the emergencies that might arise. They carried bread

[1] The account of this exploration as given above is strictly accurate in its details, the author having rephrased the accounts found in *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*—1580-1631, ed. by Arber & Bradley (see bibliography).

and water, and were well supplied with swords, guns, ammunition and an assortment of beads, bells, looking glasses and copper ornaments to buy the friendship of any hostile Indians they might encounter. Their craft was well caulked and a new sail hung from her tall mast when they waved adieu to their countrymen at Jamestown. In the language of the day, the boat was described as a barge of "two tons burthen."

Entering the Chesapeake from the mouth of the James, the wind carried them across the bay. There they explored the straits in a chain of small uninhabited islands which they named Smith's Isles in honor of their captain. Then, following the shore line, they allowed the wind to carry them to the tip of the peninsula in the vicinity of what is now Cape Charles. There they discovered an Indian village occupied by a native tribe known as the *Accomack*. The village was probably located near the present town of Cherryton in Northampton County. The *Werowance*, or chief of the *Accomack* was a sociable and friendly Indian, who was later to be known to the English as the "Laughing King." He extended the hospitality of his village to the explorers, served them food, and answered their many questions about the bay, rivers and territories occupied by neighboring tribes. He explained that there were not many deer in his country, but he had an abundance of fish and fowl, and the fields cultivated by his tribe produced rich crops of corn. All this information Captain Smith carefully noted, for he was later to incorporate some of it in a map of the region, and a journal of his adventures in the New World.

The King of the Accomack told Smith that his tribe consisted of 80 men, and that a nearby tribe called the *Accohannock* could muster 40 warriors. Smith didn't bother to take a census of the women and children. He reasoned that wars were fought by men, and as a soldier he was primarily interested in knowing the full fighting strength of the Indians. Both the Accomack and Accohannock tribes spoke the Powhatan language used by the tribes living on the mainland on the opposite side of the bay, and in his contacts with the Virginia Indians during the past year, Smith had learned many of their words and was able to converse in broken sentences with the chief. The chief told him that Powhatan ruled over the Accomack and Accohannock as he did over many other tribes. In fact, as we know today, Powhatan had organized a confederacy of thirty tribes, all but six or eight of which were brought into the association by conquest. The original tribal

members of the confederacy formed a compact group in the southwestern part of the Virginia tidewater, and from this areal nucleus, the powerful Powhatan had extended his influence to the north and east, and, as Smith learned, even across the Chesapeake to the two tribes occupying the southern extremity of the Eastern Shore. Powhatan ruled his kingdom from a village at the site of present Richmond, Virginia, from where he sent his emissaries by canoe and on foot to collect shell beads, copper and skins as regular tribute from the tribes under his dominion. Much has been written about the Powhatan Confederacy by modern scholars, based on the writings of Captain John Smith and other contemporaries.[2]

After taking their departure of the King of Accomack, the company under the command of Smith bore north in the bay, keeping within sight of the land on the Eastern Shore. They had not travelled far, when the sky began to grow black and lighting flashed overhead. Suddenly torrents of rain poured from the clouds, soaking the men to the skin and almost flooded the open boat. The storm raged for several hours, as they fought the waves to seek shelter in the protection of another chain of islands which after their "doctour of physicke" they named Russell's Islands.

Finally the storm subsided, but their troubles were not over. They found that their drinking water was gone. The captain decided to land on the Eastern Shore again to seek water with which to refill their casks. Entering the mouth of a large river, which we know today as the Pocomoke, they sailed up the stream, where they found another tribe of Indians called the *Wighcocomoco.* Smith called the river the *Tants Wighcocomoco* which has led some to believe that it was the same river known today as the Wicomico, but a careful study of Smith's writings and maps proves that it could only have been the Pocomoke.[3]

Smith found that the Wighcocomoco tribe could muster 100 warriors. They spoke a language dialect different from the Accomack and Accohannock, and they did not ackuowledge the overlordship of Powhatan. Apparently, the Virginia potentate had not spread his conquests this far. While these Indians were smaller in stature than the

[2] *Mook, 1943 (a), (b), (c),* is one of the best informed anthropological scholars, in the writer's opinion, on the ethnohistory of the Powhatan Confederacy. His writings are painstakingly documented and his data well organized.

[3] See *Bozman, 1837,* I, 107 n., with whose opinion regarding the geography of the region, the present writer is in full accord.

tribes of the Virginia mainland, they were none the less aggressive and prepared to assault the white intruders. However, by giving them presents, Smith demonstrated that he meant no harm, and in a short while the Indians were dancing and singing in a display of friendship. Fresh water was difficult to find, but the Englishmen located some "puddle water" which satisfied their thirst.

Leaving the Pocomoke, Smith again led his party into the bay, sailing between broken islands, and again a storm broke forth. This was much worse than the previous one, and the wind snapped the mast and the new sail went overboard. The waves tossed the barge as the men struggled to keep it afloat with their oars. Water poured into the craft, and the crew worked furiously to bail it out to keep from sinking. For two days they suffered bad weather, and thus they named the islands where they lay, Limbo, or the edge of hell. A less valiant and persistent man than Smith would doubtless have returned to Jamestown after the hardships he had undergone in the bay. One can well imagine that the gentlemen members of his crew, and the soldiers, would willingly have traded their precarious seats in the open boat for the protective log walls of the fort on the mainland. Smith, nevertheless, who had been through worse experiences during his military career, urged them on.

Thus we find them, as we opened the account, again turning toward the Eastern Shore, their sails repaired with their shirts, the inexperienced crew fatigued, hungry and thirsty, seeking a place where they could rest and refresh themselves. Shortly they came to the mouth of a wide river, which we know today as the Nanticoke. Smith and his contemporaries did not use the word Nanticoke in their description of the river. They recorded it as the *Cuskarawaok*, *Kuskaranaocke*, and *Kuskarawaock*, and the three variations in spelling are found in their accounts. On his famous Map of Virginia, Smith designates the stream with the abbreviation *Kus Flu*. He also shows the word *Kuskarawaoks* in large print to denote the name of the natives who occupied the area drained by the river. These *Kuskarawaoks* are beyond doubt the natives who were to be known in Maryland history as the Nanticoke Indians.[4]

[4] *Bozman, 1837*, I, 110 n., was probably the first writer to point out that the Kuskarawaok was identical with the Nanticoke River and the logic of his reasoning still remains manifestly sound. *Marye, 1937*, has independently arrived at the same conclusion, as have other students of the subject.

Aided by both sail and oar, the company entered the river, and as they arrived within the stream, the Kuskarawaoks appeared in excited groups along the banks, showing amazement and giving every indication that this was the first time they had ever seen any white men. Some of them climbed into the trees on shore where they could see the men on the river without themselves being seen. They shouted in anger, and began to shoot their stone-tipped arrows at the visitors. Smith anchored the boat in the middle of the river beyond the reach of the arrows and made signs of friendship. Doubtless he tried to show by gesture—or even in the dialect of Powhatan—that he was seeking food and water. The Indians continued to show their dislike of the strangers by sending arrow after arrow in their direction. Finally night settled on the river, and the men probably took turns sleeping, keeping a constant guard lest the Indians try to board the craft under cover of darkness and massacre them.

In the morning, an unusal scene took place on the shore. A large number of Indians appeared, but instead of bows and arrows, they carried only baskets. They began to dance in a ring on the bank, and with gestures beckoned the Englishmen to come ashore and join them. Smith was suspicious of this sudden show of friendship, and he was certain of villainy afoot. He gave orders to his soldiers to load their muskets with pistol shot and fire a volley at the dancing Indians. They did so, and at the unfamiliar sound of the guns, the dancing Indians fell to the ground in fright, dropping their baskets and scrambling into the protection of the reeds along the marshy bank. When this occurred, the Englishmen could see ambushed figures in the reeds—armed warriors who had been lying there in hiding, apparently intending to slaughter the men if they had come ashore.

Smith waited until late afternoon, then lifted anchor and paddled in close to the shore. His soldiers once more discharged their guns into the reeds. There was no movement on the banks. They cautiously rowed up to the bank and landed. The Indians were nowhere in sight. On the ground lay their baskets and pools of blood. The company inspected the shore, probably seeking food, when they saw smoke appearing on the opposite side of the river. Once more they boarded their barge and rowed across the river. There they found two or three Indian huts, and in each a fire was burning, the smoke coming through a hole in the roof. The occupants had apparently run way at the approach of the whites.

Smith left some pieces of copper, a few beads, bells and looking glasses in each hut, and then took to the boat again, this time proceeding down the river into the bay.

Smith was still curious to know more about the Kuskarawaoks, and no doubt his men were still complaining about the lack of food. Thus, when it was dark, they returned once more into the river and anchored for the night. Early the next morning, a canoe appeared bearing four Kuskarawaoks who had been fishing in the bay. Smith treated them very courteously, and the Indians bade them stay until they returned from their village which was not far away. After a little while, the four Indians reappeared bringing twenty men with them. The English party then engaged them in conference, probably resorting to gesture to make known their wants. These Indians were small in size like the Wighcocomocos and they spoke a language different from the Powhatans. They, too, had escaped being brought under Powhatan's dominion. While the conference ensued, a large number of men, women and children came out of the woods, gathering about the Englishmen and giving them presents of skins and food. The English company, in turn, distributed gifts which delighted the Indians, and they became good friends. The hostilities of the previous day were forgotten. The Indians volunteered to assist them, acting as guides, bringing water, or furnishing anything else that the explorers needed.

The Kuskarawaoks told Smith about a nation called the *Massawomekes*, whom they much extolled, a great tribe of warriors who lived in the far north, but who often came down into the bay in their canoes. Smith was keenly interested, and he told his companions that he would not consider his explorations complete until he had found these Massawomekes.

In describing the home of the Kuskarawaoks, Smith wrote: "Here doth inhabite the people of *Sarapinagh*, *Nause*, *Arseek* and *Nantaquak*, the best Merchants of all other Savages." These four names apparently refer to villages occupied by the tribe along the river which, in another version of Smith's works are spelled "*Sorapanigh, Nause, Arsek* and *Nautaquake*."

Smith said there were 200 men on the river, thus the warrior population was greater than among any other tribes on the Eastern Shore which he visited. On his map, Smith also shows the word

"*Kuskarawaok*" as an important Indian village, the home of the Indian king. This town was on the western bank of the river, according to the map, and two other villages, Nause and Nantaquak are also indicated. Arseek and Sarapinagh are not shown on the map.

In knitting together these scattered clues which are the earliest we have of the Nanticoke, we are safe in concluding that Smith was certain there were at least five villages along the Nanticoke River. The one named Kuskarawaok was seemingly the largest and the headquarters of the chief of the tribe. In the spelling of one of the other villages, Nantaquake, we can detect etymological affiliation with the word Nanticoke. Perhaps, one of the most significant allusions is the reference to these Indians being the best of the native merchants. This is corroborated in the following excerpts, also from Smith's works, which refers to their proficiency as bead makers and which, in turn, provided media to exchange with other Indians for furs:

". . . also to search what furrs, *the best whereof is at Cuscarawaoke,* where is made so much Rawranoke or white beads that occasion as much dissention among the Salvages, as gold and silver among Christians."

Captain Smith's company arrived in Jamestown July 21, after their exploration tour. Three days later, after repairing the mast and sails, Smith started off again, this time taking a crew of twelve men. Six of them were from the party who had accompanied him on the previous journey, but apparently the others were satisfied to remain behind to rest up after their experiences. This time, he sailed the barge northward in the direction of the head of the bay. Once more he crossed over to the Eastern Shore, hopeful of encountering the *Massawomekes*, about whom he had heard such glowing tales. On the river Sassafras he discovered a nation of Indians whom he called the *Tockwhogh*.[5] Seven miles from the mouth of the stream, somewhere near the present town of Georgetown, Maryland, these Tockwhogh had built a fort which consisted of a number of Indian huts surrounded by a log palisade. The Tockwhogh numbered 100 warriors. Near them on the Chester River was another tribe which Smith called the *Ozinies,* who had 60 men. There on a peninsula formed by the Corsica River and the Chester River, on the south side of the latter river, some fifteen or sixteen miles

[5] *Bozman, 1837,* I, 127 n., first pointed out that this river was the Sassafras.

from its mouth, archeological evidences of extensive occupation have been observed.[6]

Smith had only been gone from Jamestown for a few days, when all but four of his men were taken ill. With the boat's strength so seriously reduced, they were fair prey to any unfriendly Indian bands who chanced to be in the bay, and it was indeed an inopportune time to meet the Massawomekes. Even Smith's brave heart probably missed a beat when he saw ahead of them seven or eight canoes full of Massawomeke warriors. He drew up a plan of action quickly. The sick men were laid in the bottom of the boat and concealed under a tarpaulin. Their hats were held up over the edge of the craft on sticks to convince the Indians that their numbers were large. It was an effective ruse, for the Massawomekes paddled to the shore as soon as they saw the strange boat. There they stayed until Smith drew up his barge near them, and beckoned them to send a canoe to him for conference.

The Englishmen gave the Indians some presents, and the Indians returned the favor by presenting the captain with venison, bear meat, bows, arrows, clubs and bear skins. The meeting with these Indians was probably carried on solely by sign language, inasmuch as they spoke a tongue which was unlike any of the Indian languages spoken in the bay region. They were, as we know today, probably members of the imperialistic Five Nations Iroquois who were then warring with many of the Chesapeake Bay tribes. The Massawomekes showed Smith their fresh wounds, and related by signs that they had just had a battle with the Tockwhogh. At night the Indians departed.

The next morning Smith sailed into the Sassafras River. The Tockwhogh, who were apparently on the guard for a return of the *Massawomekes*, soon appeared in a fleet of canoes, surrounding the white men's barge. Their language was also different from that of the Virginia tribes, but one of them could speak the language of Powhatan. Through him, Smith persuaded the others to join in a peaceful parley. When the Indians saw the weapons of the Massawomekes in the bottom of the Englishmen's boat they assumed that the whites had attacked and disarmed their enemies, and this won their friendship. They escorted Smith's party to their palisaded town where the rest of the tribe, including women and children, welcomed them with dances and songs,

[6] *Op. cit.*, 143 n.

brought fruit and furs, and spread corn husk mats for their guests to rest on.

Smith saw that the Tockwhogh had many iron knives and hatchets as well as pieces of brass which were of European manufacture, and yet he knew that there were no white people settled in this country. He queried the Indians and learned that they had received these objects in trade from another tribe, the *Susquehannock*, who lived along the banks of the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania. The Susquehannock —who were later to be known to the Swedish and Dutch settlers as the *Minquas*—may have received these articles from white traders, probably the French who had settled in Canada. Smith also learned that the Susquehannock were mortal enemies of the Massawomeke, and we can well imagine his perplexity in trying to fathom the complications of languages, and internecine warfare among the Indians which, even today, we do not yet fully understand. His curiosity was again aroused, and he dispatched a Tockwhogh Indian to the Susquehannock's country to bid them to send emissaries down to meet him. Before returning to Jamestown, he had the good fortune to meet a party of sixty Susquehannock warriors who accepted his invitation to confer with him. He described them as fearless people, taller than the other Indians, and well equipped with fighting weapons. The Susquehannock also gave Smith's party many presents, including venison, tobacco, pipes, baskets, shields, and bows and arrows. Both the Tockwhogh and Susquehannock pleaded with Smith to remain to help them seek revenge against the Massawomekes, but Smith was anxious to return to Jamestown to report his adventures. He promised to return in a year, and bade good-bye to his Indian friends.

In summation, during these two exploratory trips along the bayside of what is now the Delmarva Peninsula, Captain John Smith recorded six different Indian tribes who resided there: the *Accomack* and *Accohannock* of the southern tip; the *Wighcomoco* of the Pocomoke River; the *Kuskarawaoke* of the Nanticoke River; the *Tockwhogh* of the Sassafras River; and the *Ozinies* of the Chester River. He had apparently made friends with all of them.

In addition, he had met a war party of the Massawomeke, who were warring against the bay Indians, and he had also met a party of Susquehannock Indians who seemed to be on friendly terms with the bay

people, but were also warring against the Massawomekes. With these he also established friendly relations.

There were other Indian tribes living on the Eastern Shore and elsewhere on the Delmarva Peninsula which Smith did not visit; e. g., the *Choptank* Indians on the Choptank River, the *Issateague* with their several allies along the seaside, as well as the *Lenni Lenape* who occupied the shores of the Delaware River. It seems clear that these Indian peoples, as well as the six tribes he did visit, were separate entities and not closely allied politically, an important point for the reader to remember.

III

ORIGINAL NANTICOKE TOWNS AND PLACENAMES

Students of Indian languages have labored for years to translate accurately the meaning of some of the Indian words, especially the place designations recorded by our predecessors. The principal difficulty of translation lies in the fact that the person who first recorded the name used certain letters from his own language to denote the sounds that registered in his ears, although he may have been unaware of the true definition of the word he recorded. Inasmuch as the Indians had no written language it was useless for the scribe to consult with them about spelling. They merely uttered the sounds, and the scribe used his best judgment to duplicate those sounds in characters from his own language. Today these word combinations as they were written 200 or 300 years ago by persons of Dutch, English, French, Swedish and other national extractions are not pronounced in a way that conveys the same meaning as they did when they were originally composed. If a modern Indian language scholar could hear the words spoken according to the original pronunciations the speaker's meaning would probably be more apparent.

In the story of the Nanticoke Indians we are confronted with such linguistic problems. For example, the word which John Smith denoted on his map as "*Nantaquake*" (one of the Indian villages on the Nanticoke River) is a good illustration. How was this word pronounced? Did the Indians say *nant-a-quake* as the English spelling indicates, or did they say *nant-a-kack, nant-a-qwack* or *nant-a-koke?* If they pronounced the word to give the sound *nant-a-quak* it might have meant "a point of land on a tidal stream" as one writer has suggested.[1] On the other hand, a slight shade of difference in pronunciations might have given the word an entirely different meaning. Was the tribal name Nanticoke an outgrowth of the name of the village Nantaquake? This may be a plausible assumption, but it lacks reliable confirmation.

Not only are we at a loss today to explain the derivation and meaning of the village name Nantaquake, but we are equally perplexed about the meaning of the other villages on the Nanticoke River: *Nause, Arseek, Sorapinagh* and *Kuskarawaok*. While suggestions have been advanced from time to time, and others may be offered in the future, it is the present writer's belief that since we will never be certain of

[1] *Tooker, 1901*, p. 25.

the original pronunciations we can probably never be sure of the true meanings.

The word Kuskarawaok is perhaps the most important of all in our discussion of the Nanticoke Indians, because it was the first name used to identify this tribe that has come down in our written records. It was soon to be forgotten as the alternate term Nanticoke became generally accepted by the whites. Again to the the original meaning, the same writer has speculated that Kuskarawaok is made up of the following Algonkian sounds: *Kusca-wau-anau-ock*.[2] This he translates as meaning "a place of making white beads." The Indians who lived along the Kuskarawaok, in the testimony of John Smith, were known to be expert workers in shell beads. Thus there is some logic to the theory, but theory it is and must always remain.

Considerable effort has been expended to explain the meaning and derivation of the word Nanticoke in which certain identifiable Algonkian roots are more clearly apparent than in the word Kuskarawaok. Heckewelder wrote that the tribe called themselves the *Nentégo* which he claims the whites corrupted to *Nantico* and thus to Nanticoke. The Delawares, according to Heckewelder, used the term *Unecthgo* as applied to the Nanticoke. These several names, according to his informants, meant tidewater people or seashore settlers. However, Heckewelder gave another version: "the Mohikans," he said, "for instance call them *Otaychgo* and the Delaware *Towachguano (Tayachguano)* both of these words in their respective languages signify a bridge, a dry passage over a stream; which alludes to their being noted for felling great numbers of trees across streams to set their traps on."[3]

Brinton wrote that the term Nanticoke was derived from the Delaware word *Unechtgo*, meaning tidewater people, which he said was another form of *Unalachtgo*, the name of one of the Lenape sub-tribes. He added that the Nanticoke were also called *Tiwaco* in one of the treaty records, derived from their Mahikan name, Otaychgo, meaning bridgepeople or bridge makers.[4] Brinton then indulges in sheer speculation by saying that the Delaware equivalent of Otaychgo was Tawachguano, from *taichquoan*, a bridge, which "enables us to identify the Tockwhogs whom Capt. John Smith met on the Chesapeake in 1608 with the Nanticokes."

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Heckewelder, 1876*, p. xlii, p. 92.

[4] *Brinton, 1885*, p. 22

This cannot be accepted in the face of such unconvincing evidence. Historically, a number of the Indian tribes of Virginia and the Chesapeake Bay region were known to have built log bridges over streams and marshes to facilitate crossing, and the technique does not seem to have been conspicuous among the Nanticoke.[5]

Professor Speck has told me that he has never heard Delawares or other Indians refer to the Nanticoke as Otaychgo, Tawachguano, or by other terms meaning bridge-builders. However, he found a Delaware-Mahican informant in Canada who freely translated Nanticoke as meaning "daring sailors," deriving it from *Wanétako,* the terminal *tako* meaning wave and alluding to the home of the tribe along the coast.[6]

Harrington, another ethnologist who worked among Delaware survivors, makes no mention in his writings of the survival of the terms *Otaychgo* or *Tawachguano* as applied to the Nanticoke. In fact, he points out that the Delawares of Oklahoma called the Nanticoke by the term *One'tko* which obviously bears close relationship to Heckewelder's *Nentégo.*[7]

Jasper Hill (Big White Owl), a Canadian Delaware, has advised the writer that the word *taiachquoan,* as used by the Delawares today, applies to a bridge or anything else used to navigate a barrier of any kind. "But as far as I personally know it does not have nothing to do with the so-called Nanticoke people." Josiah Montour of the Six Nations Reserve in Brant, Ontario, is also authority for the information that the term *tayáxkwan* as used in Delaware means bridge, but he does not relate this to the Nanticoke.

The Cayuga, Tuscarora, Mohawk, Seneca, Onondaga and Oneida each had synonyms in their own dialects of the Iroquoian tongue which they used when referring to the Nanticoke tribe. Heckewelder said the term was *Sganiateratiehrohne,* which is also variously spelled as

[5] *Smith, Arber 1910,* I, 24 "But in the mid way I was intercepted by a great creek over which they [the Indians] had made a bridge of grained stakes and railes." William B. Marye, who has been gathering historical references to Indian bridges in old land records has advised me that of a number which have come to his attention only a relatively few pertain to the Eastern Shore. It is his opinion that the Nanticoke Indians were no more expert in building log bridges than the other tribes in the bay region.

[6] *Speck, 1945, (a),* p. 14.

[7] *Harrington, 1913,* p. 232.

Skaniadadihono, Skaniadaradihaga, etc. etc.[5] These terms are generally translated as meaning "people across the water," also "swamp people," which aptly describes the native habitat of most of the Chesapeake Bay Indians. It is significant that the Iroquois, with whom the Nanticoke were closely associated, did not refer to them as bridge-builders or bridge-people. There seems little doubt that the word Nanticoke is corrupted from native words referring to a marine environment. The concept of the Nanticoke as people familiar with water is still deeply rooted in Indian lore. Jesse Moses, a Canadian Delaware, has advised the writer that the late Nick Peters (*Nekatcit*), another Delaware traditionalist, in comparing the *Scaticook* and Nanticoke, was often heard to say that the former were "timid people who only played around the shallow water, while the Nanticoke were not afraid and would ride their canoes over any kind of waves."

Why or how the word Nanticoke supplanted the term Kuskarawaok is a mystery this writer cannot fathom. After the time of John Smith, the word Kuskarawaok disappears completely from the pages of history, as do the terms Ozinies and Tockwhogh as applied to Indian tribes. This can only be explained by accepting the premise that the Indians living along the Nanticoke River preferred to call themselves by a name which sounded to the white men as Nanticoke. At least this name became attached to them at an early date and followed them through their long and tragic history.

The first specific reference to the Indians under the name of Nanticoke, which this writer has found, occurs in a letter written by Leonard Calvert to the Governor of Virginia on August 23, 1642. This was only eight years after the English settled on the mainland of Maryland. In his letter Calvert informed the neighboring governor that the Indians had burned and robbed the settlers' houses, and asked that 100 soldiers be supplied by Virginia to augment 100 soldiers that he would provide to move against the hostile tribes. He continued:

"Sr the first harm was yours from the foresd Indians, which I was desirous to have revenged had I been able being nearest to the habitations of them (as I formerly have done upon the *Nanticoque In-*

[5] *Speck, 1927*, p. 30 records the tribal synonyms of the Nanticoke in the dialects of the Iroquois tribes at the Six Nations Reserve in Canada. These are similar to the names recorded above. The Iroquois, of course, never used the terms *Nentego, Nantico, Nanticoke*, etc. in their own language when referring to the Eastern Shore tribe.

dians for the death of Rowland Williams of Accomack before the Joynt expedicion made by both colonies) etc."[9]

As the English extended their settlements in Virginia and Maryland, friction developed between the colonists and the natives. The English settlers claimed that the Nanticoke Indians came across Chesapeake Bay from the Eastern Shore to St. Marys (present Baltimore) on pretense of trading and then attacked some of the people. This prompted Leonard Calvert to issue a proclamation dated September 13, 1642, in which the Nanticoke were announced to be hostile Indians:

> "These are to publish and declare that the *Sesquihanowes, Wicomese,* and *Nantacoque Indians* are enemies of this Province and as such are to be reputed & proceeded against by all persons."[10]

The *Sesquihanowes* cited in the proclamation were, of course, the *Sasquesahanocks* of Captain John Smith who were later to be called the *Susquehannock* and who gave their name to the Pennsylvania river. At that time, these Susquehannock had about 700 fighting men and were notorious for committing "outrages upon the English."[11] The *Wicomese* (also called *Wiccomese, Wicomick, Wickamiss,* etc.) were an Eastern Shore tribe of whom we will hear more on a later page.

The Nanticoke seem to have sued for peace, for shortly after a second proclamation was issued to the effect that no Indians were to be harmed except the *"Sesquihanowes* or *Wicomeses,"* with the following nullification in the original proclamation:

> "And whereas by one other pclamaon dated the 13th Sept. last the *Nantacoque Indians* were declared to be enemies of the Province, I revoke likewise hereby the said declaration, and doe publish & declare that there is a treaty of peace betwixt me and them, and a truce of 6 weeks agreed upon for the finishing of the treaty."[12]

Early in the year 1647 the inhabitants on the western shore again complained that they had "susteyned divers great losses in their estates by the Indians of *Nantacoke* & *Wicomick* (enemies of the Province) who make incursions here."[13]

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[9] *Md. Archives,* III, 107.

[10] *Op. cit.,* p. 116.

[11] *Md. Archives,* I, 196 refers to an expedition to be sent against the *Susquehannock* "as having committed late outrages upon the English:" ibid, p. 471, *Wastahandow,* a *Susquehannock* chief deposed that the tribe had 700 fighting men in 1663.

[12] *Md. Archives,* III, 128-129.

[13] *Op. cit.* p. 191.

The Maryland government was incensed at this continuation of hostilities, and the authorities decided to end it for all time. On July 4, 1647, Captain John Price was authorized to arm 30 or 40 men, to outfit suitable ships, and move across the bay against the Indians. His instructions leave no doubt from what direction the trouble came. He was told to "go unto the Towns and Plantaons of the Indians of *Nantacoke* & *Wicomick* aforesd lying to the Eastward of this Province." He was instructed to show the Indians no mercy, to destroy their corn, burn their houses, and kill them or take them prisoners, according to his best judment.[14] The documents are silent on the outcome of the expedition.

Meanwhile settlers were becoming established on the Eastern Shore in increasing numbers, and on the southern tip of the peninsula, in the country of the *Accomack* and *Accohannock*, which was under jurisdiction of the Virginia colony, an Indian fighter arose from among the colonists. His name was Edmund Scarburgh and many tales have been told of his barbarous treatment of the Indians.[15] Scarburgh's anathema was the Eastern Shore tribe called the *Assateague* who occupied the seaside, south of the territory under Nanticoke dominion. While he had no reason to exterminate the Nanticoke and Wiccomiss, nevertheless, they were Indians and enemies, even though they lived in Maryland territory beyond his jurisdiction. He outlined his method of psychological warfare against the latter two tribes as follows:

"for the present it may be best onley to Designe war against the *Assateges* and to awe the *Nanticokes* and *Wiccocomicos* with Confederats, that they neither aid nor receive the *Assateges* or Assistants and the worke don with them now may give what lawes you please to *Nanticoke* and the rest, etc."[16]

These several excerpts quoted above, which have been carefully selected from many which can be found in the Maryland records, prove that the Eastern Shore tribe known variously as *Nanticoque*, *Nantacoque*, *Nantacoke*, *Nanticock*, and *Nanticoke* appears under those names in history beginning about 1642. They lived on the Eastern Shore of Maryland and were considered as hostile Indians during the early period of colonization. With the *Susquehannock* and *Wiccomiss* they were openly declared to be enemies of the province. From this point on we will attempt to follow the course of their history.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] *Wise, 1911.*

[16] *Md. Archives*, III, 378.

IV

IDENTIFICATION OF NANTICOKE, CONOY, CHOPTANK

Before continuing the story of the Nanticoke, it seems desirable at this point to introduce another Eastern Shore tribe whose affairs were closely related with the Nanticoke, and who are often confused with them.

A few miles north of the Nanticoke River, another equally large river, which is known today as the Choptank River, empties into the Chesapeake. During his explorations of the Chesapeake, Captain John Smith did not sail into the Choptank, and thus fails to give any description of the natives living along this river. Probably the first reference to these Indians occurred in 1640 when one Thomas Youall, a trading associate of Captain William Claiborne deposed "that he hath been oftentymes a trading with the said Captain Claiborne, and one tyme especially himselfe and four men in the Shallop Start have been sett on by 300 or 200 Indians at *Choptanck*, like to be taken by them, unless God had wonderfully delivered them."[1] This would seem to indicate that the *Choptank*, like their Nanticoke neighbors, were at first unfriendly to the whites.

Choptank is an Algonkian word, which, because of its locative ending, doubtless originally referred to a place, perhaps a native village. Its meaning is also vague. The word, like Nanticoke, came to be used for both the river and the Indians who lived on the stream and its tributaries.

In the latter part of the seventeenth century, the Choptank Indians inhabited several towns on or near the south shore of the Choptank River.[2] One of these towns known as *Transquakine* was also called *Ababco's Town*, or *King Ababco's Town*, after the chief of the town

[1] *Md. Archives*, V, 189-190.

[2] *Marye, 1937* (a) has studiously delved into old deeds for information relative to these towns which he approximately locates. This essay is an excellent summary of Choptank history and is highly recommended to the serious student who wants to extend his knowledge of the tribe.

who is frequently mentioned in the early records of Maryland. The natives living in two other towns were often called *Tequissino's Indians* and *Hatsawap's Indians* after *Tequissino* and *Hatsawap*, who were also Choptank chieftains. The three bands were often spoken of in the early days by the individual names of the sachems, and collectively were called "*Choptank Indians*" or "*the Indians of Choptank.*"

In 1679, Hatswap and Tequissino were described as being subjects of the Emperor of the Nanticoke, but there was little fealty in the relationship. In 1681, an Indian belonging to *Ababco* alleged to the Maryland authorities that he and the other Choptank Indians had several times been solicited by the Nanticoke "Emperor" to join in a war on the English, but that the offer was declined.[3] There is no documentary evidence of the Nanticoke Emperor having exercised dominion over the Indians of Choptank who existed as autonomous political units.

White settlers began to arrive on the Choptank River about 1658, and they took up tracts of land where the Indians had their towns and hunting grounds. This encroachment by the English aroused the anger of the Indians, and in May of 1669 a message was sent jointly by Ababco, Tequissino and Hatsawap to the Council of the Province of Maryland. In this message, the Choptank Indians recalled the fact that they were "in league with Maryland." They pointed out that when the Maryland authorities were looking for the unfriendly Wickamiss who had committed many murders, including the slaying of Captain John Odber, an English official, they, the Choptank, had turned over some of the Wicamiss Indians to the whites. Using this as evidence of their loyalty to the government, they declared that the English settlers had no right to encroach on their territory, and they added that the English "even sitt down amongst them in their clear fields."[4]

The government of Maryland looked with favor on their plea, and on May 7, 1699, a "League of Peace" was drawn up between the Province of Maryland and the Choptank Indians. The articles specified that there was to be reserved to the Choptank Indians, "all that land lyeing and being on the south side of Choptank River bounded westerly by the freehold of William Dorrington and easterly with the Creeke falling into the said River of Choptanke commonly by the English called or knowne by the name of Secretary Sewalls Creeke for breadth and from

[3] *Md. Archives*, XV, 359.
[4] *Md. Archives*, XII, 196.

the said river side three miles into the woods for length." The reservation contained about 14,000 acres, and the land was to be held by Ababco, Hatsawap, Tequissino and their subjects and heirs forever. As "rent" for the reservation, the Indians were to pay the government a yearly token of six beaver skins.[5]

Despite this well-intentioned effort on the part of the government to protect their native allies, the Choptank continued to be harassed on all sides Some of the Wickamiss, who had escaped being captured or slain by the whites, sought refuge with the Delawares, where they told how the Choptank had turned against them. This alienated the Delawares against the Choptank. Apart from this, the principal enemies of the Choptank were the Seneca, one of the Five Nations Iroquois, who continued to harass the bay Indians as they did in Captain John Smith's time. The Seneca took many prisoners from among the Choptank peoples, one of whom was the daughter of the Chief Ababco. After the contact with whites, disease also took a heavy toll, and in 1698 the Choptank Indians reported "about one hundred men of them are dead on the Eastern Shore."[6]

Beginning shortly after their reservation was laid aside for them, the Choptank began to sell plots of land from it to the whites. Some settlers built their homes on the reservation without the formality of compensating the Indians. This infiltration of white settlers forced the Indians farther up the river, and by 1719, Tom Bishop, a Choptank who had adopted an English name, complained to the Maryland Assembly that the English had encroached greatly upon the lands of his people at Choptank "so that they are now driven into a small narrow neck called Locust Neck."[7] Six years later, the Assembly investigated the condition of the Choptank lands to find that only a small tract from the original reservation remained in possession of the Indians. They deplored the fact that the chiefs had been induced by intoxicants to sell the land.[8]

By 1755, the Choptank tribe was described as being "reduced to a small number, chiefly old, crippled or sickley."[9]

[5] *Md. Archives,* II, 200.
[6] *See Marye, 1937,* (a) for further discussion and documentary references.
[7] *Md. Archives,* XXXIII, 312.
[8] *Md. Archives,* XXXV, 247.
[9] *Md. Archives,* XXXI, 84.

The above remarks are scarcely more than a superficial sketch of the early history of the tribe, primarily to orient the reader so that he can fully understand the remarks to follow regading the Nanticoke, and the significance of the Indian migration from Maryland and Delaware to Pennsylvania.

For a proper understanding of Nanticoke affairs and relations, we must also be aware of the position of the *Conoy*. At the time of the founding of Maryland in 1634, they were living on the western shore of the Chesapeake along the banks of Piscatway Creek and the mouth of the creek where it joins the Potomac River. This is almost directly across the bay from the mouth of the Nanticoke River. They were first known in history as the *Piscataway, Pascattoways, Pascaticons*, etc. To the Iroquois, they were known as the *Gonois, Conoois, Ganawese* and other variants of a term that came to be anglicized and commonly spelled as *Conoy*. While they were considered by the Maryland authorities as a separate tribal entity apart from the Nanticoke, like the Choptank, there appear to be certain cultural and linguistic ties between them and the Nanticoke proper.

The head chief of the Piscataway or Conoy was recognized as an Emperor by the English authorities. Early in Maryland affairs, the ordinary Indian chiefs were styled "kings," a synonym for the Indian term "*werowance*." The great chief, *tallac* or *tayac*, who ruled over the "kings" was termed Emperor. Among the nearby tribes who acknowledged the suzerainty of the Piscataway Emperor were the *Mattawoman, Choptico* (not to be confused with the Choptank), *Nanjemoy*, and *Anacostan*.[10]

The Piscataway proper had two principal seats, a town known as *Accokeek* or *Aquakecke*, on Potomac River below the mouth of Piscataway Creek, and a palisaded village or fort which stood on a high hill on the south side of Piscataway Creek, abandoned in 1680. On the opposite or south shore of the Potomac lived the *Potomac (Patowmack)* Indians, a tribal affiliate of the Powhatan Confederacy. The Piscataway were not associated with Powhatan, and John Smith recorded that

[10] This and other information to follow regarding the Piscatway is taken from *Marye, 1935*. His essay is thoroughly documented with references from the *Md. Archives* and *Land Office Patents*. The present writer has independently located some of the identical references in the *Md. Archives*, but they are not included to avoid burdening this account with needless footnotes.

the Piscataway (whom he refers to as *Pazaticans*) were enemies of the Potomac.

The first recorded Piscataway Emperor was *Wannis,* who received Leonard Calvert on his visit to Piscatway about 1636. He was killed by his brother *Kittamaquund* who succeeded him, "by right of their succession Brother always succeeding to the Brother till they be all dead."

Following Kittamaquund's death in 1641, the English authorities began to exercise an alien influence in the election of emperors, and *Wahocasso (Weghucasson)* was named. He died shortly thereafter, and the great men of the tribe notified Governor Philip Calvert that *Uttapoingasenem* had been named their new Emperor. The Governor, who had not been consulted, asked whether *Uttapoingassenum* had become Emperor through succession or by election. The Indians' answer is a well known passage concerning their method of electing kings, which is quoted in full below:

"Long ago there came a King from the Eastern Shoare who commanded over all the Indians now inhabiting within the bounds of this Province (nameing every towne severally) and also over the *Patowmecks* and *Sasquehannoughs,* whome for that he Did as were imbrace and cover them all they called *Uttapoingassinem* this man dying without issue made his brother *Quokonassaum* King after him, after whome Succeeded his other brothers, after whose death they tooke a Sister's Sonn, and soe from Brother to Brother, and for want of such to a Sister's Sonne, the Government descended for thirteen Generacons without interruption until *Kittamaquunds* tyme who dyed without brother or sister and apoynted his daughter to be Queene by that the Indians withstood itt as being Contrary to their Custome, whereupon they chose *Weghucasso* for their King who was descended from one of *Uttapoingassinem* brothers (But which of them they knowe not) and *Weghucasso* at his death apoynted this other *Uttapoingassinem* to be King being descended from one of the first Kings this man they sayd was *Jan Jan Wizous* which in their language signifies a true king. And they would not suffer us to call him *Tawzin* which is the style they give to the sons of their Kings, who by their Custome are not to succeede in Rule, but his Brothers, or the Sons of his Sisters."[11]

[11] This deposition appears in Hodge *Handbook,* 1907, I, 339.

Of great significance is the claim made in this deposition by the Piscataway that their first Emperor had formerly been a king on the Eastern Shore, which, of course, implies that his followers had migrated with him across the bay. The statement has been generally accepted as evidence of a political affiliation having existed in the prehistoric period between the Nanticoke and Conoy. The claim that the Piscataway Emperor exercised jurisdiction over the Potomac and Susquehannock tribes is open to question. While he may have obtained some control over the former, which was wrested from him by Powhatan, the boast of having had authority over the Susquehannock seems to be a bald exaggeration.

The deposition is also of interest in that it indicates the emperorship among the Piscataway was hereditary, but subject to final approval by the members of the tribe.[12]

Having established that the Choptank and Piscataway (Conoy)—the former on the eastern side of Chesapeake Bay and the latter on the western shore—each entered into negotiations with the Maryland authorities as self-controlled tribes and under their own names (they were not called Nanticokes), let us now continue with our discussion of the Nanticoke proper.

[12] After contact with the whites, the sons of emperors succeeded their fathers, e. g., *Nattaeasso*, a son of *Weghucasso* and *Wannassapahin*, a son of *Wannas*, etc. which may indicate white influence. See *MacLeod, 1926* for discussion of *Piscataway* royalty.

V

FRICTION BETWEEN WHITES AND INDIANS

Today as we comb the earliest references in the documents of Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania and New York for references to the Nanticoke Indians, it becomes apparent that only a relatively small amount of information has been intelligently recorded. The data are scattered and many gaps occur as we strive to achieve continuity in the narrative. Therefore, the reader must bear in mind that abrupt transitions from one year to another, or even over a period of several years, are unavoidable in our effort to piece together the fragments.

We are certain that the friction continued between the Nanticoke Indians and the English settlers in Maryland despite what seems to have been sincere efforts on the part of the authorities to safeguard the interests of the natives. There was no dearth of legislation intended to preserve peace, but the fact remains that ambitious white settlers and unscrupulous traders disregarded the laws and acted independently to further their own selfish interests. The Indians, aggravated by the actions of the whites, retaliated in their own defense, thus provoking continual unrest and mutual suspicion. Some of the complaints made by the Indians which have found their way into the records serve to illustrate the reasons for the strained relationship. The writer will make no attempt to catalog all of the ruptures, but has selected a few typical examples relating to the Nanticoke.

On occasion the Nanticoke were blamed for mischief that they did not commit, for the whites could not readily distinguish the warriors of one tribe from another. For instance, in 1671 Major Thomas Taylor and Captain Henry Tripp of Dorchester County were appointed to visit the Nanticoke Emperor and call him to task about certain insolencies committed by Indians dressed in war paint. The Emperor vigorously denied that any of his subjects had recently appeared in war paint, and he said that his people had made no threats against the English. Further, he stated that he had strictly ordered his subjects to lay down their arms and hold up their hands tied with a white cloth when they approached an Englishman's plantation. This, he said, would identify his people as friendly Nanticokes, and if any Indians presented

themselves in any other way, the whites had his permission to kill them.[1]

In 1677 an Indian attack was made at the home of David Williams, a settler in Somerset County, and murder committed on the owner and the members of his family. Colonel William Burgess was commissioned by the government to apprehend the Indian murderers. He was instructed to raise an armed company and sail across the bay to the mouth of the Nanticoke River, with orders to Colonel William Colebourne (Clayborn?) to rendezvous with him "at *Chicacone* in *Nantikok* River, being the place where the Emperor now doth or lately did reside, and then taking in a Pilott you are to sail directly to the sd Towne of *Chicacone* where the rest of the ffources from Dorchester, Talbott, Kent and Caecill Counties are ordered to Rendezvous."[2]

Colonel Burgess was also instructed to convince *Hatsawap*, *Ababco*, and *Tequissino*, the *Choptank* kings, that no harm was intended them; and likewise he was to assure *Amonugus*, the Emperor of the *Assateague* and *Unnacokasinnnon*, the Emperor of the Nanticoke, that they would suffer no injury providing they cooperated in delivering up the Indians who murdered the Williams family. In the event that Emperor *Unnacokasinnnon* refused to come personally to treat with him, he was authorized "to endeavor to engage *Hatsawap*, *Ababco*, *Tequissino* and *Amungus* to goe as Mediator" between him and *Unnacokasinnnon*.

If the murderers were not surrendered, Burgess had the authority to threaten a war against all the Eastern Shore Indians.

In the meantime, a delegation of Eastern Shore Indians appeared at the New Towne Court House on the Maryland mainland, asking permission to confer with Governor Thomas Notley, claiming they represented the Emperor of Nanticoke. The spokesman was *Oupetoh (Ope-*

[1] *Md. Archives*, XV, 361. Parties of northern Indians frequently appeared on the Eastern Shore and were mistaken by the whites for members of local tribes. *Tequissino*, a Choptank sachem, in 1681 informed the Maryland authorities that 10 *Seneca* spies had been observed taking a view of all the *Choptank* and *Nanticoke* towns, and were informing themselves on the locations of navigable streams and other topographical features. This was undoubtedly preliminary to an attack. This reconnoitre by the Seneca was probably prompted by information they had received from the Delaware. "The *Sinniquos* [Seneca] having been asked who the Eastern Shore Indians had a mind to warr with and how they heard of it, they said the Delaware Indians informed them that the Nanticokes have a mind to war with them." *Md. Archives*, XVII, 14, 1681. Needless to say, the Nanticoke probably deeply resented the Delawares having informed on them and this may have been one of the reasons for the lack of close ties between the two Algonkian-speaking tribes.

[2] *Md. Archives*, XV, 143-144.

ter) a brother of *Unnacokasimmon.* The others were the King *Tequissino, Chincoricos* and *Ousawosson.* They brought as their prisoners two other Nanticoke Indians named *Wottocwacough* and *Onnechascoughson.* The theme of their speech was that the Emperor had made strict inquiry in the "several Townes of Indians belonging to him & under his Subjection." He found only one of his Indians having a white man's clothing in his possession, and this Indian was turned over to the authorities, but he could find no others who had participated in the crime.

Realizing, however, that the English were angry, as a gesture of cooperation he had sent the two Indians—*Wottocwacough* and *Onnechacoughson*—to be sacrificed, even though they were entirely innocent of the murder. This was done so that the Nanticoke "would live at Peace and eat their bread with their wives and Children in quittness if possible, and that therefore those men who came prisoners with them did voluntarily and freely (without any Compulsion) surrender themselves a Sacrifice to the English."[3]

The Governor and Council deliberated the Indians' offer and then informed them it was not their custom to put innocent persons to death.

The Indian found with the English clothing, who had been surrendered by the Emperor, had informed on two other Nanticokes, *Krawcom* and *Papomco* as the murderers. The Nanticoke delegation were asked if they knew the former. They replied he was an Indian belonging to "the King of *Checonesseck,* a Towne upon the Horekills."[3a] The pre-

[3] *Md. Archives,* XV, 145-146.

[3a] *Krawcom* being subject to the *King of Checonesseck* was described as being "in no ways allied to the Nanticoke." The writer offers this in evidence that the Indians living on the "Horekills" (present Lewes, Delaware) were not of Nanticoke affiliation. He is further convinced that there were no Nanticoke settlements on the seaside of the Delmarva Peninsula as most historians erroneously conclude. For example, *Scharf, 1888,* I, says that the Nanticokes occupied "the lower part of this state and the Eastern Shore of Maryland." The oft-quoted H. S. Schoolcraft *(History of the Indian Tribes of the U. S.,* Phila. 1857) says in Chapter 1, Section 7, p. 131, "The entire Eastern Shore above Virginia has in later days been regarded as the *Nanticos* or *Conoy* [*sic!*] country, synonymous names for the same people."

Schoolcraft's statement is as erroneous as that made by Charles Truitt *(Historic Salisbury Maryland,* N. Y. 1932) p. 2, "In the region now incorporated into the counties of Queen Anne, Talbot, Caroline, Dorchester, Wicomico, Worchester, Somerset and Sussex the Nanticoke nation was seated, ruled by a dynasty of emperors or great chiefs. Nearly a score of tribes [*sic!*] comprised this federation."

These comments by different authors not only do not conform to each other, but are at variance with the documented material presented in the present account.

vious summer, *Krazecou* had visited the Nanticoke River with some *mauuauoses* (soft-shelled clam) which he traded with the Nanticoke for shell beads which they had in abundance.

The decision made at the conference was that Col. Henry Coursey would return with the Nanticokes to the Eastern Shore, acquaint Col. Burgess with the proceedings, and advised him to demand that *Krazecou* and *Papouco* be delivered to them.[4] This seems to have been the course of action that was ultimately followed.

In February 1678 two Nanticoke Indians raided a plantation on Middle River in Baltimore County, killing the white owner and severely wounding his wife and another Englishman with their tomahawks. The Nanticoke assailants were named "*Aunachohill*, or the white Indian, and *Souau*, called in English James." A complaint was formally made to the Nanticoke Emperor by the authorities, and the chief replied that he would apprehend the assailants and turn them over for trial. However, he expressed doubt that a murder had been committed, and requested that the grave be opened to satisfy him that the planter was actually dead. This was done, and apparently the two culprits were then turned over to the authorities.[5]

In 1682 John Richardson claimed allowance from the government for "provisions and entertainment of Several Companies of Souldiers at his house in the late expedition against the Nanticoke Indians.[6] This indicates beyond question that the soldiers were sent against the Indians to punish them for certain misdeeds, although details are missing.

In 1684 Col. Vincent Lowe complained that 60 Eastern Shore Indians had killed 25 of his hogs, and Nicholas Hackett, an Indian interpreter, was sent to the Nanticoke Emperor ordering him to appear before Col. Philemon Lloyd to answer for "misdeamenors offenses and injuries done by his Indians."[7]

[4] *Md. Archives*, XV, 146-148.

[5] *Md. Archives*, VIII, 31, 35, 36. The Indian attack was made to avenge the death of a so-called "mad Indian" whom the whites had slain the previous year. The two Indian assailants also cut off the ears and tails of the Englishman's pigs because the pigs had eaten their corn.

[6] *Md. Archives*, XVII (Oct. 30, 1682).

[7] *Md. Archives*, XVII, 311.

On May 5, 1686, a Nanticoke Indian named Sampson was delivered to the authorities for the murder of a white settler in Dorchester County.[8] Sampson had been turned over by *Nicodepeto*, the Emperor's son, in the absence of his father the Emperor, who was then "a great distance off as far as the Whorekills."[9]

In July 1687 a rumor spread through the province that the Nanticoke Indians were about to rise and attack the colonists.[10] The previous month the Emperor had reported that three Englishmen had killed one of his Indians, and he demanded that the three Englishmen be delivered to him by the Maryland authorities to receive their just punishment. Fifty Nanticoke warriors were reported to be taking steps to attack the English.[11]

In October, 1688, a Nanticoke complained to the Maryland Council that one Cornelius Johnson had stolen a canoe belonging to them. He also added that "severall English people living near them commit divers outrages and abuses to and against him and his people and doe them much detriment in several respects."[12]

In 1698 the Nanticoke again complained that Col. Charles Hutchins, Nea Covington, John Hans and another interpreter Christopher Nutter had each built a plantation on their lands, without having obtained the Indians' consent. It was at this meeting that the Indians gave the governor a string of wampum, according to their custom, as a pledge of the sincerity of their statements. He, naively thinking it was intended as a present, took only a small piece and returned the rest of the beads with the simple suggestion that they give it to their wives.[13]

A Nanticoke Indian, with the anglicized name of Henry Coursey, complained in September 1794, against an Englishman named Peter

[8] *Md. Archives,* V, 475.

[9] *Md. Archives,* XVII, 399-460. This reference seems to indicate that the Nanticoke roamed over the southern parts of the peninsula as far as the ocean, although maintaining their permanent homes on the Nanticoke River. It would also appear that the Nanticoke Emperor must have been on friendly terms with the Indians at *Checonesseck* (also called *Chesconessex, Sikonesses,* etc.) a native village at present Lewes, Delaware. The writer has suggested that the latter Indians may have been of Lenape affiliation, *Weslager, 1942, (a).* They were certainly not under Nanticoke jurisdiction.

[10] *Md. Archives,* V, 547.

[11] *Op. cit,* pp. 549-550.

[12] *Md. Archives,* VIII, 49.

[13] *Md. Archives,* XXIII, 456-457.

Taylor to whom the Indian was indebted for 4 bushels of corn, 2 buckskins and 1 doeskin—representing a total value of 7 doeskins. He had given the white man collateral for the loan consisting of a belt of wampum worth 50 doeskins, and his creditor would not return the wampum, nor would he pay the Indian 43 doeskins, the difference between the value of the belt and the original debt.[14]

There were many other accusations made by the Indians, but their major complaints related to confiscation of their lands or that white people settled near their towns and molested them.[15] This was a general complaint, also made by the Choptank, Pocomoke, and *Assateague* on the Eastern Shore as well as the Piscataway on the opposite side of the bay.

Trouble also ensued because the traders persisted in bringing intoxicants to the Indian towns despite laws which expressly prohibited this practise. The chiefs of most of the Maryland tribes, as in matters of land, were also unanimous in insisting that this practise be discontinued. For example, in 1713, three Nanticoke great men, Tom Coursey, *Panquash* and *Rassekettban* complained that a white man had robbed their "*Quankosine House*" (more about this in the later discussion of Nanticoke burial customs) and also pleaded that the white traders be punished for bringing liquor to their towns. They added this thought: "that though we are all good friends yet Rum & Cyder will make Indians quarrel and Storys will be made and Indian Women with Child will be frighted."[16]

In 1719 *Panquash* and *Annatoquin* told the authorities that the English traders brought strong drink to the Nanticoke Indians at Chicacoan and that they objected to this traffic.[17]

In 1721 the Nanticoke, Pocomoke and Indian River Indians (*Assateague*) jointly submitted a petition to the authorities asking that the whites discontinue supplying liquor to the Indians.[18] The authorities

[14] *Md. Archives*, XXVI, 42.

[15] In 1710 the Nanticoke complained of Henry Freaks settling near their town, *Md. Archives*, XXVII, 546. In 1711 they complained of Roger Fowler settling on their lands, *Md. Archives*, XXXIII, 311. In 1721 the chief Annatoquin said the English had so much encroached that the Indians didn't have enough land for their corn fields, *Md. Archives*, XXV, 364.

[16] *Md. Archives*, XXIX, 229.

[17] *Md. Archives*, XXXIII, 311.

[18] *Md. Archives*, XXXIV, 207.

attempted to correct the evil by issuing threats of severe punishment to the traders who carried liquor, but this was ineffective.[19]

From time to time, in order to smooth out the difference with the Indians, and to provide a basis for peaceful relations, the Maryland Council negotiated treaties with them. The earliest recorded treaty made with the Nanticoke tribe was negotiated on May 1, 1668 between Phillip Calvert on one side and *Unnackasimmon*, then the Nanticoke Emperor, on the other. According to the treaty, it was agreed that "all former Acts of Hostility & Damages whatsoever by either Party susteyned to be buried in perpetual Oblivion." This was the first of five separate treaties with the Nanticoke which are quoted in the Appendix and which merit careful reading.[20]

This first treaty further stipulated that the Nanticoke Emperor would deliver up to the authorities "the whole nacon of *Wiccomisses* and all those Indians that protected the Murderers of Capt. Odberr that lived at *Sicacone* [*Chicacoan*] Town." This refers to a murder perpetrated by the Wiccomiss Indians on Captain John Odber, one of the officials on the Eastern Shore, and his servant. The exact causes are not known, but the Wiccomiss are said to have claimed that the English had killed one of their women, and they had their revenge by taking Odber's life.

These Wiccomiss, as we have seen were earlier declared to be enemies of the Province of Maryland. Their exact identity is still uncertain, but Marye believes they were Captain John Smith's Indians of Ozinies who had been driven down to the Nanticoke River under white pressure.[21] There, according to Maryland documents, the Wiccomiss became tributary to the Nanticoke Emperor, first occupying the town of *Chicacoan* which was later possessed by the Nanticoke. Following the murder of Captain Odber, Maryland enlisted the services of the Choptank, Nanticoke and Assateague in their conflict with the Wiccomiss. This war which lasted more than two years, was described as follows by Philemon Lloyd:

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[19] *Md. Archives,* XXII, 511 contains the Act of 1699 which forbade traders from carrying liquor within three miles of an Indian fort or town on penalty of a fine of 5,000 pounds of tobacco.

[20] See p. 138.

[21] *Marye, 1938; Marye, 1939.*

"Among us an Indian Warr ushered in by ye barbarous murther of severall Inhabitants of ye parts where I now dwell was begun in ye year 1677 and brought to an end by ye defeat and total destruction of a nation of salvages called ye *Wiccomises* our People were Obliged to pursue them into ye forest and to hunt them out of their fastness (weh are branches Pocosons [swamps] and other unpassable places for horses) by ye assistance of our Confiderate Indians."[22]

[22] *Marye, 1939*, p. 53.

VI

MARYLAND ESTABLISHES INDIAN RESERVATIONS

Perhaps the best evidence of the willingness of the Maryland provincial authorities to protect the Indians' rights is found in the legislation authorizing reservations for the natives. This became necessary as the white settlers increased in numbers, and moved closer to the Indians, gradually depriving them of their lands. Continual friction ensued, and with access to his hunting grounds prohibited by white tenants the Indian was deprived of sources of food and clothing. In a move to appease the natives, the authorities decided to establish certain specific plots of land as reservations for the exclusive use of the Indians. We have seen in a previous chapter that reservations were created for Choptank, Assateague and Piscataway. The Nanticoke were also favored by being alloted for their exclusive use a small parcel of the vast territory over which they had once had complete suzerainty.

It is not clear from the records as to the exact number of Nanticoke villages nor their locations at the time the first reservation was laid out for them.[1] We can, however, be certain that there were other Indian towns along the Nanticoke River in addition to those which Captain Smith showed on his map.[2] On May 20, 1696, the Nanticoke Indians

[1] James Mooney and Cyrus Thomas, two contributors, are responsible for a grave error in Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 25, relating to the location of a Nanticoke village which has been perpetuated by later writers. The statement is as follows: "In 1722 their principal village called *Nanduge* by Beverly contained about 100 inhabitants and was residence of the 'empress' who ruled over all the neighboring Indians." Actually, this Indian town has been located by *Wise, 1911*, on Nandua Creek in Accomack County, Virginia and was in no way affiliated with the Nanticoke. It was, in fact, many miles distant from the Nanticoke place of residence. Furthermore, the Nanticoke were never ruled by an "empress" as the writer will show in a later chapter devoted to the lineage of Nanticoke sachems.

[2] Mooney and Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 24 make the following statement: "when Smith in 1608 located their principal village called *Nanticoke*, etc." The writer has already shown that Smith did not use the word Nanticoke, but designated a village as *Nautaquake* or *Nautaquak* on the Nanticoke River. Smith did not say this was the principal village. The same authorities, p. 26, list the Nanticoke as having at various times the following villages: *Askiminkansen, Byengeahtein, Chenango, Locust Necktown, Matchcouchtin, Matchcattochousic, Nanduge, Natahquois, Pekoinoke, Pohecommeati, Teahquois*, and *Witichquaom*. This, too, is a hodge-podge of names collected from various sources. In the previous note, we have pointed out that *Nanduge* was not a Nanticoke village. The same applies to *Askiminkansen*, a place on the north side of the Pocomoke River, occupied by *Assateague* Indians, not Nanticoke.

sent representatives to a council meeting with the Maryland authorities, and signified through their interpreter that they represented seven towns. A representative had been sent from each town to make a present of skins to the governor who accepted one pelt from each town. The Indians "further acquaint his Excell. that there are three Towns more belonging to them, for which they offer three skins."[3]

In the same year, the head chief of the tribe was described as follows:

"The Emperor of Nanticoke which Nation consists of ten Towns the certain number unknown."[4]

Apparently the whites had difficulty keeping an accurate tally of the Indian population, for the deposition continues:

"The Eastern Shore Indians remove very often into Virginia and Pennsylvania; so 'tis almost impossible to have the Exact number of Men or Towns but some of those which are called so, have not twenty families in them. The numbers of the Indians in these parts decrease very much by reason of the small pox, a distemper they had not before the Europeans came amongst them, and by their old way of poisoning, which they are very expert in, but the greatest cause of all is . . . Rum."

The ten Nanticoke towns mentioned in the above citation may have all been on the Nanticoke River, although there is a possibility that three of the towns not represented may have been along the Choptank River. The deposition, without question, refers only to his immediate area. It is certain that the Nanticoke had their principal settlements on both sides of the Nanticoke River whereas the Assateague and Pocomoke tribes lived on other streams as the following deposition indicates:

On March 13, 1678, the Lord Proprietor issued a proclamation locating some of the Indian settlements on the Eastern Shore, and forbidding all colonists from building their homes within three miles of any of these places. These places were described as follows:

"A neck of land lying in Somerset County called Asbincenekonson [Askimokonson] Neck on the North side of Pocomoke River; whereon a great number of Indians doe live, also there is a Neck of Land called Quapanquah [Coponco or Queponco] Containing about three thousand Acres lying on the South side of Pocomoke River in the County aforesaid where Indians are seated One other neck of Land called Parrahockon Containing about two thousand Acres whereon is built a small Indian Towne by a Creeke of Pocomoke River that Trencheth out

[3] *Md. Archives*, XX, 434.

[4] *Md. Archives*, XXV, 256.

of the North side of the said River And that there are several Indians seated in a neck of Land lying on the South side of Wiccocomoco in Somersett County aforesaid att Tundotenake which part of our Mannor And also that there is neck of land of a Considerable quantity of Acres whereon Indians are seated lying on the north side of Wiccocomoco River by a Creeke called Cottinghams Creeke. *Also that there is a Neck of Land called Puckamee which lyes on the South or Eastermost side of Nantecoke River in Somersett County aforesaid and on the north side of Barren Creeke containing about fifteen hundred Acres whereon Indians live and also that several Indians live at Chiccacene* [*Chicacoan*] *on the North or westermost side of Nantecoke River in Dorchester County.*"[5]

The specific locations of *Askimokonson* and *Queponco* are known, but these villages do not now concern us, because they were not occupied by Nanticokes. The settlement on the south (or east) side of the Nanticoke River, called *Puckamee,* is of particular interest. This is the only historic documentation known to the writer of Indian occupancy on that side of the river, and it is regrettable that the names of the village or villages are not given in the records. It is clear, however, that there were villages in the vicinity. For example, along Rowastico Creek (a stream near Barren Creek mentioned in connection with Puckamee) there was a place known as *Emperor's Landing,* obviously a reference to a canoe landing named for the Nanticoke Emperor.[6] Along Quantico Creek (another tributary of the Nanticoke near Rowastico Creek) "*Indian old fields*" are mentioned in an early land survey. Such references to Indian fields usually indicate the location of a native town.[7]

[5] *Md. Archives,* XV, 235-236.

[6] Acknowledgement is made to William B. Marye for calling attention to a tract of land laid out on March 20, 1681 for John Lyon on the south side of Rowasticote (Rowastico) Creek. The certificate calls for "a marked white oak standing on a point of high land by the Emperours Landing." (Resurvey, *Md. Land Office, Patent Records for Land, Liber 21, Folio 401).*

[7] Marye also calls attention to a tract laid out on March 17, 1688 called "Morris's Lott" near the branches of Quantico Creek in proximity to "an Indian old field." One of the branches called Pemechamps Branch had a place on it called Pemechamps Landing. This, too, had reference to a landing place for canoes. "Peme" is definitely an Algonkian root. In this connection it should be noted that at an early date the whites decided "that a town be appointed at or near Tixquin on the South side of Nanticoke River it being a convenient location for a town and place of trade." *Md. Archives,* XIII, 28. The word Tixquin, or Tipquin as it was also known, is of Indian origin and may have been the name of a native village although this is not certain.

Marye, who as previously cited has gathered references pertaining to Indian bridges, writes me that "There was an Indian bridge circa 1683 over the head of Rowastico Creek in the immediate neighborhood of the present Spring Hill Chapel. At this place there was also an Indian field and an Indian path."[8] Other land records, referring to Indian paths between Barren Creek and Rowastico Creek, etc., which need not now detain us, prove conclusively that the Indians occupied that shore of the river and its tributaries.

On the opposite side of the Nanticoke River—the north (or west) bank, there are numerous references to the Indian towns at the place called *Chiccacone*, or *Chicacoan*. This territory lay at the point of juncture between Chicacoan Creek and the main river. The stream today is known as Chicone Creek.[9]

In 1684, a commission headed by Colonel William Stevens and Christopher Nutter, the Indian interpreter, was appointed by the Lord Proprietor to lay out a tract of land as a reservation for the Nanticoke Indians "in and about the place where they are at present seated and reside" on the Nanticoke River. This meant at *Chicacoan*, and subsequently a lot of approximately 5000 acres lying between Chicacoan Creek and the Nanticoke, beginning at the confluence of the two streams, was officially laid out as the Nanticoke Reservation. The In-

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[8] Personal communication, April 3, 1946.

[9] The Nanticoke Indians inhabited about Chicacone Creek as early as 1668 "but how many years before that time we are not able to Discover," *Md. Archives*, XXXV, 267. In 1668 a town at the same site was occupied by the *Wiccomiss* Indians who became subjects of the Nanticoke. After the *Wiccomiss* were defeated by the whites they lost their tribal identity, and any survivors were absorbed by the Nanticoke. After 1688, *Chicacoan* was the headquarters village of the Nanticoke Emperor.

The first reference to the creek by its present name occurs in 1664 when it was spelled "*Siccacone Creek*" in a survey for the Lord Proprietor of a tract called "Nanticoke Manor," *Md. Patent Records For Land, Liber 7, Folio 444*, Sept. 6, 1664.

A variant of the same word occurs in *Smith*, I, 52, the *Sekacawone*, a tribe of Virginia Indians as of 1607-09.

dians were supposed to pay the Maryland government a yearly rent of one beaver pelt for the land.[10]

Samuel Cooper, a surveyor of Somerset County, apparently laid out the boundaries of the reservation in 1687.[11] Then on October 20, 1698 an act was passed for ascertaining the bounds of the reservation, and it was ordered that Major Thomas Ennals, a surveyor of Dorchester County, run out the bounds again in the presence of witnesses.[12] This seems to point to disputes, no doubt instigated by white settlers, over the Indians' claims.

Despite the creation of a reservation, and the verification of its bounds, the English settlers persisted in encroaching on the Indians' lands. In 1707 the Maryland government appointed commissioners to lay out a second reservation to satisfy the demands of the Nanticoke Indians. The second tract was on Broad Creek in present Delaware, the site of an earlier Indian village whose name has also been lost. This village was occupied by Nanticoke Indians at the time the reservation, consisting of 3000 acres, was laid out in 1711. White settlers who owned some of the property (2500 acres on the north side of Broad Creek and 500 acres on the south side) were compensated in the form of tobacco to relinquish their claims to the tract. At the time the reservation was laid

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[10] See Appendix, p. 133 for original reference to the reservation, and the plate opposite p. 45 for a plot of the land, through the courtesy of the Maryland Historical Society.

It is regrettable that we do not have the names of the Nanticoke villages at *Chicacone*. Perhaps they were known to the natives by Indian names, but these names were not recorded. Murray in his letter to Jefferson dated 1792, alludes to two Indian towns, *Ama-nam-quun*, the Choptank Town at Locust Neck, and *Matt-appinen*, a Nanticoke Indian Town. He does not locate the latter, but there is a possibility it may have been at *Chicacoan*. In Algonkian dialect the word contains elements translatable as "embarking" which may have referred to the village location at a convenient landing place for canoes.

Contemporary maps are not very helpful in locating the Indian villages on the Eastern shore. Augustine Herman's map (1670) shows *"Achquank"* and *"Chicocoan"* on north side of Nanticoke River and *"Mattowamon"* on south side; F. Lamb's Map (1676) also shows *"Chicocon"* and *"Achquank"* on the Nanticoke River. However, we can not conclude from the maps that these were the names of Indian villages, although the writer leans in that direction.

[11] *Md. Archives,* V, 557.

[12] *Md. Archives,* XXII, 176.

out the property was in Maryland, but later changes in the state boundaries placed it in the territory of the state of Delaware.[13]

Some of the Indians living on the first reservation at Chicacoan moved upstream to join those on the Broad Creek reservation. It would appear that by this time any other Indian villages on the Nanticoke had been deserted, and the natives congregating at one or the other of the two reservations. Still all was not peaceful by any means, and in 1723 the Indians at Chicacoan grew rebellious at the continual encroachments of the English, and another act was passed by the Assembly for "quieting the Possessions of the Indians inhabiting on Nanticoke, etc." [14] Through this legislation, the government reiterated that the Indians were to have free and uninterrupted possession of the tract and "shall not sell, dispose of, or lease" any of it.

One of the major incidents which provoked the animosity of the Nanticoke inhabitants of Chicacoan was the action of Captain John Rider and Isaac Nicholls, two land-hungry Englishmen. The Chicacoan lands were very desirable because they were not only conveniently situated on two navigable streams, but the Indians had laboriously cleared away the trees to make open fields for their corn. The whites looked yearningly at such property in contrast to the thickly forested plots which required clearing before plantations could be laid out. In 1722-23 Rider claimed that he had gained legal possession of a large tract of land on the Indian reservation. The Indians complained and a conference was held at Annapolis to examine Rider's claims. He maintained that the Indians had deserted the reservation, burning their cabins and moving up to the Broad Creek reservation to join their neighbors. He said he had found the reservation deserted except for one Indian, William Asquash, the late Emperor's son. It was brought out by the Indians' testimony that Rider had ousted William Asquash and set his cabin afire. Rider then erected a clapboard house, maintaining that the Nanticoke Indians by deserting their reservation had lost their rights to the land. He pointed out that the reservation was in their possession "only as long as they shall occupy and live on same." [15]

[13] See Appendix, p. 135 for the original acts. About this time the *Tuscarora* in North Carolina were at war with the English in that area, and Maryland did not want to provoke the Nanticoke Indians to a similar revolt. They tried to pacify them with the second grant of land.

[14] *Md. Archives*, XXXIV, 739.

[15] *Md. Archives*, XXXIV, 522; XXXV, 267.

Testimony by the Indians brought out that they had not permanently deserted their reservation. They admitted that they had departed "but returned of themselves in the fall of the year" taking up their residence again, burning down the house Rider had erected. They declared it was true Rider had found their towns uninhabited because "the most of the Indians then being gone out to their hunting quarters according to their usual practise." [16] This is evidence of a phase in the economic cycle not previously established for the Nanticoke. It indicates that they lived in permanent or semi-permanent villages, where during the spring and summer, they raised corn and other agricultural products. In the fall, the entire village, including men, women and children moved into the woods to hunt, apparently establishing themselves in less permanent homes during the chase.

After hearing the evidence, the authorities ruled that the whites were trespassers and had no rights to possession of the land. The rights of the Indians were upheld and they returned to the Eastern Shore in triumph. Their victory, however, was only temporary, for other forces were at work and trouble would soon again descend on them.

[16] *Md. Archives,* XXXV, 369.

VII

NANTICOKE DEPART FROM EASTERN SHORE

In another volume, the writer has discussed the Indian plot on the Eastern Shore in 1742 which came about as the culmination of years of misunderstanding and oppression under white rule.[1] As of that year tribal life on the peninsula was entirely different from that of a century before. The Indian population had been greatly reduced through warfare, over-indulgence in intoxicants and white men's diseases. The geographical positions of the several tribes had also been affected by the influx of white settlers who either purchased or confiscated the choice parcels of cleared land. The Choptank tribe had been driven back into small quarters at Locust Neck on the headquarters of the Choptank River. The Nanticoke were confined to their two reservations at Chicacoan on Nanticoke River and at Broad Creek, a small portion of the vast holdings over which they had formerly roamed without restriction. One band of Assateague had been forced up from Maryland and had settled along Indian River in Delaware where the government of Maryland (the land was then under Maryland jurisdiction) set aside a reservation for them. A remnant of the tribe and its allies still remained in the country of the Pocomoke River.

Into this disorganized and wasted Indian country came Messowan, a Shawnee war captain, bringing with him a party of warriors from the Conoy Town on the Susquehanna in Pennsylvania. They had moved down surreptitiously by night, sleeping during the day in the woods, lest they be seen by white men. Messowan brought news of an Indian uprising that would soon break forth along the frontier. Aided by the French, the Shawnee and their Indian Allies planned to attack the English settlements in Pennsylvania, and Messowan's mission was to enlist the support of the Eastern Shore tribes in a similar revolt against the English settlers in Maryland. All of the Indians would attack at the same time, according to plan, and drive the English intruders into the sea, forever ending the threat against native existence. As the plot

[1] *Weslager, 1944,* pp. 49-58.

took shape, the Eastern Shore Indians joined together in the depths of a swamp called *Winnasoccum* along the Pocomoke River where they joined the Shawnee emissaries in a war dance. The Nanticoke were one of the principal conspirators. In fact, the Shawnee sought their aid first, and the attack was planned with Sam Panquash, Dixon Coursey, Captain John, Simon, Jemmy, Asquash and other Nanticoke leaders then living at Chicacoan and Broad Creek. The Nanticoke, in turn, solicited the assistance of the neighboring tribes.

If the rebellion had materialized it would doubtless have resulted in horrible massacres, but luckily for the Maryland settlers, Jemmy Smalhommoney, a friendly Choptank Indian, informed the authorities of the rendezvous. The plot was nipped in the bud, and the Indian leaders were apprehended and imprisoned. They had failed in their last stand against the whites before a single shot was fired.

After hearing the evidence against the plotters and weighing it against their own feeble defense, Governor Samuel Ogle gave them the following admonition. The italics are supplied:

"We are fully convinced of your having entered into a Conspiracy to destroy all the White People of this Province contrary to the Treaties made between us, and might very justly punish you in a very severe Manner for what you have been guilty of, but We are rather desirous to use you kindly like Brethren in hopes that it will beget the same kindness in You to Us.

"Our kindness to you ought to be received more thankfully as *We have it in our Power to take all your Lands from you, and use you as your ill Designs against Us have deserved*, whereas you cannot make any War against Us, but what must end in your own Destruction, which we hope you will consider, and not be drawn into any Plots for the future with the Shuans [Shawnee] or any other Indians whatsoever." [2]

As a result of the Governor's forgiving attitude, new treaties were concluded on July 24, 1724 with the Indians who had participated in the plot, namely the Indian River Indians, the Pocomoke bands, and those living along the Nanticoke. The fact that separate treaties were made with each Indian group is evidence that the Nanticoke had no political control over the others. The treaty made with the Nanticoke on Broad Creek was signed by the leader, Simon Alsechqueck, whereas the Nanticoke living at Chicacoan were represented by John Coursey and Chinchopper.

[2] *Md. Archives*, XXVIII, 257-270 for account of the plot.

The Earlier Habitat of the Nanticoke Indians. *Upper*, a Nanticoke village site on the Nanticoke River, Cherry Beach, Sharptown, Maryland. Excavation of hillock in background produced exceptionally large quantities of fragmentary pottery. *Lower*, another Nanticoke site located on Barren Creek, a tributary of the Nantiicoke River. The soil is sandy and natural stones are rare.

The Earlier Habitat of the Nanticoke Indians, Nanticoke site at Eldorado, Maryland, on Marshy Hope Creek, above its junction with Nanticoke River.

Each of the treaties with the four groups of Indians was basically alike, containing an important clause that forbade the Indians thereafter to carry guns without a special license from the Governor of Maryland, and prohibiting them from joining together in the future to elect an Emperor. The complex treaty with the Nanticoke on Broad Creek is given in the Appendix to which the reader's attention is directed.[3] More than ever before, these treaties brought the Nanticoke and other Eastern Shore Indians under the vigilant eye of the Maryland authorities. In depriving them of their Emperor, the authorities took away their last chance of functioning as a strong, allied nation.

On September 13, 1744 Simon Alsechqueck, the chief of the Broad Creek band, and three other Nanticoke Indians appeared before the Maryland authorities "and on behalf of themselves and the rest of the said Nanticoke Indians now residing in this Province" asked permission to leave Maryland and live among the Six Nations. A resolution was then passed to the effect that in a late treaty with the Six Nations, the Maryland Commissioners had promised the Iroquois chiefs that they would not interfere with any Nanticoke who wanted to remove; therefore, the Indians were given permission to go. Further "all his Majesty's Subjects inhabiting the same are strictly charged and required to suffer the said Indians to pass without any Molestation or Disturbance they behaving quietly and peaceably."[4]

A letter was also directed to the government officials in Dorchester, Somerset and Worcester Counties ordering them to return to the Nanticoke Indians the guns which were taken away from them following the plot of 1742. This request was also instigated by the Six Nations who rightly believed that the Indians should have their weapons before leaving the province. The weapons were necessary for the Indians to obtain food.[5]

These were not the first Nanticoke to leave the province. In 1682 it was written that some Eastern Shore Indians taken prisoner by the Iroquois "liking that country better than their own resolved to stay."[6] Also, as we shall see later, the Nanticoke Emperor Asquash fled north in 1713 to live with the Indians on the Susquehanna. Of course, the

[3] See Appendix, p. 145.
[4] *Md. Archives*, XXVIII, 338-339.
[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 340.
[6] *Md. Archives*, VI, 384.

departure of Indians after 1742 marked the first time any number of them left in a body. It was the beginning of the end.

By 1754 Governor Sharpe wrote as follows regarding the Nanticoke reservation at Broad Creek, "that them Indians for some time past have ommit'd to occupy & have quitt'd the Possession of them Lands."

Although they had deserted the reservation at Broad Creek, some Nanticoke continued to cling to their homes on the Chicacoan reservation, and a remnant of the Choptank continued to live at an Indian town at Locust Neck. There appears to have been considerable intermingling between these two latter bands which resulted in both being termed "Nanticokes" by the whites. Eventually, the Chicacoan reservation was also deserted, leaving only a handful of Choptank-Nanticoke survivors at the Locust Neck town.

[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 132.

VIII

NANTICOKE SETTLE IN PENNSYLVANIA

The reader will recall that in the first chapter we discussed the Nanticoke mission to Onondaga to obtain the consent of the Iroquois to settle in Pennsylvania. Shortly thereafter bands of Nanticoke from the Eastern Shore came to seek asylum in Pennsylvania where they had already been preceded by Shawnee, Conoy, Tutelo, Delaware and others. In fact these other tribes were then occupying settlements principally along the Susquehanna and its tributaries, although some of the Shawnee and Delaware had already pushed west to settle on the Allegheny and Ohio Rivers where others would later follow. Of the villages on the Susquehanna the names of many have survived in contemporary documents and maps. These settlements consisted of a group of crude cabins set in a clearing usually along the banks of a stream. Most of the Indian families had corn plots cared for by the women, and the principal occupation of the men was hunting. Furs were necessary to barter with the traders, and many of the traders built their posts not far distant from the Indian towns. During this period when the Pennsylvania Indian population, swollen by hundreds of emigrés, reached its peak, the fur bearing animals were growing less numerous. This caused hardship among the Indians, depriving them of one of their food sources and also their means of obtaining goods from the traders.

These Indians had been exposed to white contact for more than 100 years, during which time their native cultural patterns had been greatly modified by European custom. Many of them spoke and understood English. The white man's gun had to a considerable extent replaced the bow and arrow. Steel hatchets and knives supplanted stone weapons. Brass and iron kettles had taken the place of sun-baked pottery vessels. The clothing of the Indians was a strange combination of white men's shirts, matchcoats, European hats, feathers, and native deerskin leggings and moccasins. Many of the Indians had become Christians, and more were to be Christianized through the efforts of the Moravian preachers.

Their principal missions, Friedensheutten (tents of peace) and Gnadenhuetten (tents of grace) offered religious refuge to the wanderers.

Over these expatriated tribes, the powerful Iroquois League placed their vice-regent, Shickalamy, an Onondaga. His prime concern was to supervise the affairs of the Indians settled at Wyoming (present Plymouth, Luzerne County) and the more important town Shamokin, lying at the junction of the two branches of the Susquehanna (present Sunbury). He also served as the League's representative over other lands on the river. His orders were to prevent the English from settling on these lands which had been reserved for the exclusive use of the former tributary tribes, "who are daily flocking there from all parts."[1]

As the whites encroached on these lands, the tribes who had moved to Pennsylvania to escape persecution, found their safety again jeopardized. The old wounds were reopened. Into this unsettled state of affairs came the Nanticoke, bringing with them the scars of a century of oppression by white settlers and unprincipled traders. Consequently, instead of finding a new and permanent place of abode, they were forced to move from one place to another.

By 1747 the Nanticoke had been long enough established in Pennsylvania to have founded their first town in the Province. It was recorded that year that "the speaker of the Ohio Indians had staid all winter with the Nanticoke Indians at their Town Situate at the mouth of the Juniata."[2]

On July 1, 1749 an Indian Council was held at Philadelphia, and among those present were "Three Senecas, two Onondagos, some Tutalos & others, Nantycokes and Conoys." The speaker, Assuehquay, informed Governor Hamilton that the Conoy had left the Conoy Town to "live among other nations at Juniata."[3] Thus, it would appear that the

[1] *Penna. Col. Records*, VI, 216. After 1747, Shickalamy was succeeded by two other vice-regents, Tanacharison, who was called the Half-King, and Scarouady.

[2] *Penna. Col. Records*, V, 222. Incidentally, on June 16, 1744, Conrad Weiser entered expenses for the lodging of certain Indians with the "Nontikoks on Jonyaty." *Peters Mss.*, XI, 16, quoted by Wallace, 1945. The village may have been in existence at that time. Probably 1743 was the date of its founding—not earlier than 1742.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 390.

Nanticoke and Conoy joined forces at an early date in Pennsylvania, the Conoy having been settled in the Province when the Nanticoke arrived. If this union had been achieved earlier, the Indians could have presented a strong front to the Maryland Government and preserved their lands. At this late date, both tribes were only remnants of their former selves, reduced in number and strength.

The writer has not been able through documentary sources to locate the specific site of the Nanticoke village at the mouth of the Juniata, although this seemingly would not be difficult to establish through a study of old deeds and land records. There were Indian villages at this point prior to the appearance of the Nanticoke, as shown by Taylor's Map of 1727 (opposite p. 192, Hanna, 1911). Taylor locates Indian villages on the south bank of the Susquehanna at the junction of the Juniata and also on an island opposite the mouth of the Juniata. Obviously, the Nanticoke settled at one of the sites because it had been cleared by the previous Indian occupants.

The whites soon began to trespass on the Juniata lands, and the Iroquois protested to the Pennsylvania authorities in behalf of the tribes they had placed there. At a council meeting in Philadelphia on August 16, 1749, attended by 280 Indians, including Seneca, Mohican, Tutelo, Delaware and Nanticoke, Canassatego, the noted Onondaga orator, declared:

". . . if not we must insist on it that this is on the hunting Grounds of our Cousins the Nanticokes & other Indians Living on the waters of Juniata, you use more vigorous measures & forcibly remove. We must not be deprived of our hunting Country & indeed it will be an hurt to You, for all we kill goes to you, and you have the profit of all the skins." [4]

Canassatego then went on as follows:

"We now speak in behalf of our Couzins the Nantycokes. You know that on some differences between the People of Maryland & them we sent for them & placed them at the Mouth of Juniata, where they now live; they came to Us while on our Journey & told us that there were three settlements of their Tribe Left behind in Maryland who wanted to come away, but the Marylanders kept them in fence & would not let them; we desire, therefore (being urged thereto by our Couzins the Nantycokes) that you write to the Govr. of Maryland & use your utmost

[4] *Penna. Col. Records, op. cit.*, p. 401.

Interest that the Fence in which they are confin'd may be taken away & that their demands on the Maryland Government may be satisfied & that they may be allowed to come & settle where the other Nantycokes are & Live with them amongst us. We have further to tell you that the People of Maryland do not treat the Indians as you & others do, for they make slaves of them & sell their Children for Money & this makes us more importunate with you to get the rest of our Couzins from among them, and to urge this we give you

"A Belt of 7 Rows"[5]

Several days later, a conference was again held, at which time Governor Hamilton replied as follows:

"We return the Belt by which you requested we wou'd become Sollicitors to the Government of Maryland for the Nantycokes, being perfectly satisfied that these Indians have misrepresented the Governor of Maryland & their Concerns with him. We shall, however, write to the Governor of Maryland as you desire, but you may depend upon it, from what is well known here, that it will turn out quite contrary to what you expect. Tho' we return the Belt we shall do the Service desir'd."[6]

Two years later, August 16, 1751 four Nanticoke Indians arrived in Philadelphia from the Indian town Wyoming on the Susquehanna. The purpose of this visit was given by one of the Indians as follows:

"Brother, the Governor of Pennsylvania—

"In the beginning of this Year one of the Nanticokes was committed to Prison at Lancaster for abusing a White Girl, one of your children, but after he had been there some time, you very graciously at our earnest Request set him at Liberty. We are desirous to remove all Resentment out of your Hearts for this abuse, which caused us to shed many Tears, and this string of Wampum is given to remove from your hearts all ill will to use on that account."

The speaker continued:

"We passed about nine years ago by your door [1742] we came from Maryland, and asked your Leave to go and settle among our Brethren the Delawares, and you gave us leave. You will wonder that you have

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 402.
[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 409.

not seen us since, so we now come down to tell you that we did for some time live at the mouth of Juniata, but are *now settled at Wyomen.* This you should know for we now belong to you. With this String, therefore, we inform you of our Removal from Juniata and Settlement at Wyomen."

Almost pathetic was the next speech made by the Indian,

"We now speak in behalf of our People, the old men and old women. the young men and young women, the Children of both Sexes, and those who are yet in the belly. We all speak from the bottom of our hearts, not from our mouth, when we tell you that we are your Brethren, and will ever preserve a most sincere affection for you, and heartily beg that we may be favored with your Protection and care of us." [7]

The Governor was sympathetic to their plea, and bade them adieu with the following pledge:

"Brethren, Your Assurances of living with us like good Children and faithful Subjects are agreeable to Us. We shall not fail to take the same care of you as we do our other Brethren so long as you merit our Protection. We speak this from our hearts as well as from our Mouths. and in Confirmation of our truth an sincerity we give this belt." [8]

The Nanticoke were not content at Wyoming, and remained there only until 1753 (not 1755 as Heckewelder states; see f. n. 7). The Five

[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 544. The actual date that the Nanticoke settled near Wyoming was in the spring of 1747. This is brought out on the journal of Zeisberger and Mack (1748). On July 27, 1748 the two Moravians were at Wyoming where they "Crossed the River and visited the Nanticokes who moved here last Spring from Chesapeake Bay, and found them clever, modest people. They, too, complained of the famine and told us their young people had been gone several weeks to the settlements to procure provisions."

Heckewelder wrote in a letter to Isaac Abel Chapman (see *Adolph 1937*) "In May 1740 [the date is incorrect; possibly he meant 1748] while the Shawanos were yet settled at & near Wyoming, a considerable number of Nanticokes with their chief called White at their head, emigrated from the Eastern Shore of Maryland to this place & settled on the one side of the River, within sight of the Shawanese town . . . after the war had broke out in this part of the Country in 1755 the Nanticoks also left Wyoming & settled themselves above Tioga at a place called Shumunk; the Susquehanna Delaware now taking possession of that place [Wyoming] built a town, their Chief Tadeuskund making also this his place of residence."

[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 545.

Nations gave them permission to move north on the Susquehanna, and they finally settled at a former Onondaga town called Otsiningo (near Binghamton, N. Y.) on the east branch of the river. Zeisberger and Henry Frey who journeyed to Onondaga in the spring of 1753 witnessed the flotilla of 25 Nanticoke canoes moving up the Susquehanna to their new place of abode. In 1754, Conrad Weiser addressed a letter to the governor in which he stated that the Nanticokes had gone up the river to live at Olsenencky [Otsiningo] "a Branch of Sasquehanna, where formerly some Onondagors and Shawonese lived."[9]

The following year Weiser reported on a trip which he had made to the Five Nations in New York where he found some Nanticokes there present with Mohawks and Tuscaroras.[10] The latter were apparently either on a visit or stragglers from the main body who had separated. In their wanderings from place to place it was inevitable that there would be a gradual disintegration of the tribe, with some of the younger people leaving to join other bands. In fact, it would seem that family groups probably struck out for themselves from time to time, living where it best suited their needs, although the tribe continued to preserve its name identity in a small compact group consisting of Nanticoke and Conoy. This main unit continued to remain firm in the British interests, and at a council meeting in Philadelphia, August 22, 1755, the Nanticoke offered to take up the hatchet against the French if they were so asked. To this offer, Governor Robert Morris replied:

"Return our hearty thanks to the Delawares and Nanticokes for their generous offer of engaging in another Expedition if this Government will put the Hatchet into their hands. We take this as high proof of their particular attachment to us, and we hope they will always continue

[9] *Op. cit.*, VI, 36.

[10] *Op. cit.*, p. 340. I am indebted to Foster Disinger of Binghamton, N. Y. for information as to the location of the village Otsiningo. Under date of March 16, 1946 he writes: "The Evans Map of 1749 places Ostiningo on west side of river. The same map places Owego near junction of Susquehanna and Chemung, an error. It is also placed on west side by state road site sign near the Castle Creek site we excavated in 1939-1940 and not a single contact specimen was found. On the east side of river across much contact material has been secured. I have seen the graves there; typical contact Iroquois. I am sure by the best maps, contact material, etc., the east side was the main location . . . the site by occupational material was about four miles up the river from junction with Susquehanna."

their Friendship to us and wait the Determination of the Six Nations, which they may expect to receive very soon from themselves." [11]

The Delawares, however, as history has shown, did not ally themselves with the English, but sided with the Shawnee and joined the French. They detached themselves from their dependence upon the Six Nations, who had previously feminized them, and went on the warpath.[12] They burned homes, scalped settlers and took women and children prisoners. It was the final culmination of their resentment of the English.[13] Most of the Six Nations remained loyal to the English cause, refusing to be intimidated by the French, and the Nanticokes followed their example.

Following Braddock's defeat, at the hands of the French and Indians, the Delawares and Shawnee swept the frontier. They threatened to exterminate all the English and to force the peaceful tribes to join them in rebellion. Scarouady, the Iroquois agent, reported to Governor Morris as follows:

"I let you know I am returned from my Journey, which when I was here last I told you I intended to take. I went as far up the River Sasquehannah as where the Nanticokes live. I told them that I had undertaken that Journey purposely to alarm them, to apprize them of the approach of very heavy Storms and to warn them of imminent Danger. I bid them rouse and awake and hearken to the noise that was all abouth them, and that if they did not now awake the first noise they would hear would be the noise of the Tomahawk upon their Heads.[14]

He added that he had told the Nanticoke and other Indians about Braddock's defeat, but promised that the English had sufficient strength to recover and subdue their Indian enemies. "Then," he said, "I gave them the Belt with the Hatchet in it, which they took readily and gave another Belt and tied it to mine in order to make the Hatchet sharper & give it the greater Weight."

The Governor replied: "We are obliged to you for the Journey you took to the Nanticokes and for waking and warning them of their

[11] *Penna. Col. Records,* VI, 591.

[12] For details on this feminization, see *Weslager,* 1944 *(c).*

[13] *Sipe, 1929,* gives a full account of the massacres for which the Delawares were responsible.

[14] *Penna. Col. Records,* VI, 685.

Danger. They are our friends, and in doing good Office to them you do a kindness to us." [15]

The Indian uprising in Pennsylvania disrupted the status of the peaceful Indians, for the settlers along the Susquehanna took up arms, threatening to avenge themselves on all of the natives. Some of the whites believed that the Six Nations had endorsed the massacres at the instigation of the French, meanwhile pretending to be friendly to the English. This, however, was proved untrue, and to ascertain where the Iroquois stood, Governor Morris sent Scarouady and Andrew Montour, a "half Indian" to the Six Nations. On this trip they went up the Susquehanna by way of the Indian towns at Shamokin, Lapachpeton's Town (later known as Catawissa) and Nescopeck, finally arriving at Wyoming. Twelve miles about Wyoming they stopped at Assarugheny (Indian town near present town of Ransom, Lackawanna County). Twenty miles further they stopped at Chinkanning (present Tunkhannock in Wyoming County) where they found the Delaware chief Teedyuskung with some Delawares and a few Nanticokes. Next they visited Diahoga or Tioga (near Athens, Bradford County), a town occupied then by Mohicans and Delawares; and moved on to the then deserted town of Owegy. Twenty miles north they came to the village called Chugnut, and 5 miles above Chugnut they stopped at the town of Otseningo where they found 30 cabins and about 60 warriors of "Nanticokes, Conoys and Onondagas." From here, the two Indian representatives went through the Iroquois country, finally arriving at Fort Johnson, where they conferred with Sir William Johnson. Throughout the Journey they encountered hostile Delawares and Shawnee.[16]

In summarizing the foregoing, the writer is of the opinion that the Nanticoke first came to Pennsylvania in substantial numbers about 1742 or 1743 and established a town at or near the mouth of the Juniata. About 1747, the body of the tribe moved to a village near Wyoming. From there, about 1755, they gradually moved up the Susquehanna, and at the opening of the French and Indian Wars, the majority of the tribe was settled at the village Otseningo. This is also confirmed in general by Heckewelder, who wrote:

"The main branch, or the Nanticoke proper, were then living on what is now called the Eastern Shore of Maryland. At length the white

[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 687.

[16] *Sipe, op. cit.*, gives a good description of this trip based on Pennsylvania records.

people crowded so much upon them, that they were also obliged to seek another abode, and as their grandfather [thus they called the Delawares] was himself retreating back in consequence of the great influx of the whites they took the advice of the Mengwe [Five Nations] and bent their course at once to the large flats at Wyoming where they settled by themselves in sight of the Shawanos [Shawnee] while others settled higher up the river even as high as Chenk (Shenango) [Otsiningo] and Shummunk [Chemung] to which places they all emigrated at the beginning of the French War. White's tribe resided there until the Revolutionary War, when they went off to a place nearer to the British, whose part they had taken and whose standards they joined. White himself had joined the Christian Indians at Shechschequan [near Tioga Point, Bradford County] several years previous to the war and remained with them." [17]

During the period of their abode in Pennsylvania, the Nanticoke were ever under the watchful eyes of the Iroquois but were kindly treated. About 1753 the Nanticoke were taken into the League under the wing of the Cayuga as one of the federated tribes. This event is confirmed by Sir William Johnson in a speech to an Iroquois Assembly at Onondaga in September of that year.

"I congratulate you," he said to the chiefs, "in the Name of your brother the Governor on the two additional links to the Old Chain, the Skaniadaradighronos [Nanticoke] and Tedarighronos [Tutelo] who without doubt must increase the strength of it." [18]

Johnson addressing the Oneida added that he would "fix a new string to the Cradle which was hung up by your Forefathers, when they

[17] *Heckewelder*, 1876, p. 91. A map survey of a 600 acre tract at Wyoming, made in 1768 shows the location of the "old Nanticoke Town" on southeast side of Susquehannah between Muddy Run and Moses Creek, *Penna. Archives*, 3rd series, IV, Map 66. *Donehoo, 1928*, calls attention to this map; see p. 123 for brief but accurate account of the Nanticoke.

[18] *Johnson Papers*, IX, 114. For identification of the two tribes cited above see *Wallace 1945*, pp. 350-1, quoting Weiser, viz., "The Tedarighroano are the Tutulows, and the Shaniadaradighroanos . . . our Nontokooks that came from Maryland some years ago . . . no doubt the Indians of the Six Nations recommend them as two powerful nations that came from the south in order to get larger presents from the English."

Received the Tuscarores, as you do now the Skaniadaradighronos to feed and protect."[19] The "cradle," of course, was the symbol of the younger tribes.

Having united with the Six Nations as one of their federated tribes, or as a "prop" in the League, the Nanticoke entered a new period of their history. Their warrior population helped to increase the total number of fighting men at the command of the Onondaga Council, and as faithful allies they supported the League in all its undertakings. In return, they received the guarantee of a security they had not previously had.

[19] *Ibid*, p. 113. Seemingly the Nanticoke stopped paying bead tribute at about the time of their entrance into Pennsylvania. This is brought out in an old and rare publication by *Raylton & Hinde*, London, 1747 (?) as follows:

"The Nantikooks are in Alliance with the Six Nations and not tributary, acknowledging themselves to be sheltered by their Wings. They live within the Borders of Maryland, a Few about Conestogo, and some have settled this spring at the Mouth of the River Skohooniaty or Jeniaty which is a Creek that falls into the Susquehanna from the West beyond the mountains." (p. vii.)

IX

DURING FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS

The incursions of the French in the Ohio Valley was an important factor in provoking Indian hostilities against the English settlers of Pennsylvania. The French, ambitious to gain control of the resources of the New World, did everything within their power to encourage the natives to resist the advance of the English. They used every artifice to win the Iroquois League over to their side, knowing that the six member tribes not only constituted one of the strongest military forces, but that their affiliates were also under the direction of the Iroquois Council. The Onondaga Council, however, continued steadfast in their neutrality although favoring British interests. They refused to heed the French, although there were times when it seemed as though they might be tempted to desert the British. The Shawnee and Delawares, as previously mentioned, were fair prey to French invitation, because of the smouldering resentment they bore the English over land intrigues which was further aggravated by the overlordship of the Six Nations. When they went on their bloody rampage, there emerged two distinct factions: the Delawares and Shawnee settled in Western Pennsylvania under the leadership of three brothers, Shingas, Pisquetomen and King Beaver; and the Delawares and Munsi settled on the Susquehanna led by the chief Teedyuskung.

Teedyuskung, despite his addiction to the white man's intoxicants, was a great leader, orator and diplomat, and he had the support of sage Pennsylvania Quakers who were pro-Indian. Through the excerise of shrewd diplomacy he forced the Six Nations to respect the Delawares as warriors and men, after having relegated them to the disgraceful status of "women" for many years. The Pennsylvania authorities were impressed with Teedyuskung's boasts that he was a "king" and concluded that the Delaware uprising could only be settled by direct negotiation with him. They had tried without success to bring pressure on the Delawares through the Six Nations, but the former refused to listen to their erstwhile overlords, and continued their hostilities. Quaker pressure in Pennsylvania played an important role in forcing a

cessation of hostilities and urging a peaceful settlement of all the differences. The efforts to arrive at a compromise over disputed lands resulted in a series of five meetings with large delegations of Indians between 1756 and 1758, finally terminating in a Grand Council Meeting at Easton on October 8, 1758.

These meetings were attended not only by Teedyuskung and the renegade Delawares and their associates, but also by tribes who had remained loyal to the English, including the Six Nations and some of their affiliates. By carefully studying the minutes of these meetings, one finds allusions to the Nanticoke which clearly reveals the status of the tribe and their probable geographic movements during this critical period in Indian-white relations. It should be emphasized that the Nanticoke were not directly concerned in the discussions over land matters since they were not owners of land in Pennsylvania. Consequently, the proceedings of the various meetings do not now concern us, and, indeed, have been treated in detail by other writers.[1] Our principal interest is to glean any interesting items pertaining to the Nanticoke themselves.

There is no question that the Nanticoke were not party to any of the massacres on the Pennsylvania frontier during this period. On July 6, 1756 Canachquasy, whose English name was Captain New Castle, stated that nine Indian tribes had remained firm in the English interests, one of whom was the Nanticoke.[2]

On April 1, 1757 George Grogan, Deputy Agent to Sir William Johnson, appointed to supervise Indian affairs in Pennsylvania, held council with a large body of Indians at John Harris' Ferry (near present Harrisburg) and the meeting was continued at Lancaster, and attended by Governor Denny. Teedyuskung was unable to attend, and as a result very little business was accomplished. Present among the Indian delegates were Tuscarora, Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, Delaware and the following Nanticoke:

Robert White
Joshua
With 11 more Men, Women & Children[3]

[1] *Sipe, op. cit.*, also *Wallace, 1945.*
[2] *Penna. Col. Records*, VII, 188.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 507.

This was a very small Nanticoke delegation, and they played no active part in the discussions. Apparently they came as witnesses and to share in the presents usually distributed to the Indians at such meetings.

On July 25, 1757, Governor Denny met with Teedyuskung and some 300 Indians at Easton. It was at this meeting that Teedyuskung demanded his own secretary, a precedent in Indian affairs, because previously only the whites had kept a written record of the proceedings. Finally, after considerable opposition, the favor was granted and Charles Thomson, a teacher of the Quaker School and a friend of the Indians, was appointed to serve as the chief's secretary. At this meeting, Teedyuskung brazenly announced that he was King of the Delawares living on the Susquehanna, and claimed to be empowered by ten nations of Indians: namely, Lenape, Unami, Munsi, Mohican, *Tiawco or Nanticokes,*[4] Seneca, Onondaga, Cayuga, Oneida and Mohawk. He claimed that he had the authority to settle all differences between these tribes and the government.[5] The chief was assuming an authority that he did not have, but the whites, unaware of all the nuances in Indian affairs, gave him ear. There seems to have been amiable relations between the chief and the Nanticoke, for on August 2, 1757 he again came to Easton to confer with the Governor and his council, bringing with him three Nanticoke who wanted an audience. The Nanticoke spokesman addressed Governor Denny through Conrad Weiser, as follows:

"The Chief man of the Nanticokes has sent me here to see the Governor and You, and desired me, in his Name to wipe away the Tears from your Eyes which those Troublesome times may have occasioned, and I do it with this String of Wampum.

"You may have swallowed since these Troubles arose, something bitter, which has given your Heart some uneasiness. I with this string of Wampum remove all Grief from your Hearts that your Minds may be as easy as they were in Times of Peace.

"I see a great deal of Blood spilt. I, with this String, clean the Blood from off your Beds, that you may sleep easy, and from off your Council

[4] Note the use of the word Tiawco as a synonym for Nanticoke and a basis for Brinton's argument previously cited.

[5] *Penna. Col. Records,* VII, 665.

Seats that you may sit with pleasure in Council with your Brethren & with this Feather I open your Ears, which the great High Winds may have stopped, and that you may hear what your Brothers may say to you."

"I am come here to the Council Fire with our Cousins the Delawares, and you, to give all the Assistance I can to the good Work of peace, and to join my Cousin Teedyuskung, and the six Nations, to gather up the Dead Bodies and Scattered Bones together, and will join in Prayer to the Good Spirit to hide them, and when the Peace is confirmed I will put both my Hands into the Chain of Friendship with you and our Cousins the Delawares and the Six Nations; to confirm my Words, I give you this String of Wampum."[6]

Not only did the Nanticoke make eloquent speeches testifying to their friendship, but acted in good faith, for on October 5, 1757 the chiefs of the Onondaga tribe sent a letter to Sir William Johnson advising that they had news of a company of thirty Indians preparing to attack the English. "We immediately sent Two of our Men to Stop them, but in spite of all that we and our Brethren the Nanticokes could do, they marched along until we met them a Second Time, after a Long Council they all turned back, but Nine, etc."[7] This incident occurred at the Indian village Otsiningo where the Nanticoke were then living. The village was on the route to Onondaga, and during 1757 and 1758 it was reported that many unfriendly Indians passed through the town with evil designs against the English, but the Nanticoke tried to take away their prejudices.[8]

At another council held at Easton, October 8, 1758 between Governor Denny and a large number of Indians, the following appears in the records of the Indians who attended:

"Nanticokes and Conys, now one Nation—Robert White alias Wolahoeremy, Pashaamokas alias Charles, with Sixteen Men, Twenty Women and Eighteen Children.

"Kandt, Alias Last Night, with Nine Men, Ten Women and One Child."[9]

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 693.
[7] *Penna. Col. Records*, VII, 763.
[8] *Penna. Col. Records*, VIII, 127.
[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 176.

This is an important reference because it indicates that the Conoy and Nanticoke were then so closely associated that the authorities recognized them as a single tribe. It also gives some indication of the size of the combined group—77 individuals, including men, women and children. While this may have not been the total strength, assuming that some members of the tribe did not attend the conference, it probably is a fair approximation.

During this meeting, Tokaaio, a Cayuga chief, prefaced his remarks by saying: "I speak in behalf of the younger Nations part of and confederated with the Six Nations, vizt., the Cayugas, Oneidoes, Tuscaroras, Tuteloes, Nanticokes and Conoys."[10] This, too, is evidence that the Nanticoke were openly recognized as a member of the League.

At this meeting, Teedyuskung persisted in proclaiming his authority, and at a private conference following, the Iroquois conferred with the Pennsylvania officials and denied vigorously that the Delaware chief had their permission to speak for them. The Iroquois chiefs arose one by one to express their contempt, and Thomas King, an Oneida, said:

"Take notice that I speak in behalf of Five Nations who have their Deputies here present Vizt: the Oneidoes, Cayugas, Tuscaroras, Nanticokes and Conoys, who have joined together now and make one Nation, and Tutelos. We Five are all connected together and if anything is said to one of us, it is Communicated to the Rest. On their Behalf I now tell you we none of us know who has made Teedyuskung such a great Man . . . we desire to know from whence he derives his Authority."[11]

A few days after the meeting, at another session, Robert White, the Nanticoke, arose and said he was going to speak in behalf of seven nations of Indians, and he addressed the Governor as follows in the English language:

"It is now more than two Years past since we heard of our Cousins, the Delawares, taking up the Hatchet Against the English. At the first Sir William Johnson sent a Message to the Head Nations and when they received it, they sent one to us at Otsaningo, telling us,

[10] *Op. cit.*, p. 182. See also *Col. Doc. N. Y.*, VI, 987 (1755) for following: "Mohawk, Onondaga and Seneca called Elder Brothers of Confederacy. Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Scaniadarodighroonas [Nanticoke] and Tiederighroonas [Tutelo] are younger brothers. The Delawares are children of all."

[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 191.

that as we lived close by our Cousins, they desired we would invite them to meet at our Town, and accordingly we invited them, and they came to a great meeting at our town of Otsaningo. We then gave our Cousins a Belt of a Fathom Long and Twenty-five Rows in Breadth and desired them to lay down the Hatchet that they had taken up against the English, and to be easy with them, and if they would follow this Advice, we told them that they would Live in Peace until their Heads were white with Age, otherwise it might not be so with them."[12]

Robert White said further that the Nanticoke had later sent two other belts of wampum to the Delawares desiring them not to strike the English. The Delawares not only disdained to reply but said that the Nanticoke at Otsiningo "had grey Eeyes and were like the English," and threatened to kill them. Robert White demanded to know what had happened to the belts of wampum, and commissioned the Delawares to advise him. Their reply is not given in the records.

The dispute with the Indians was not easily settled, and it dragged on for a long time. Two years after the above meeting, July 11, 1760, Governor Hamilton met a large delegation of Munsi Indians from Wyalusing [two miles below present Wyalusing in Bedford County]. The delegation also included two Nanticoke Indians from Otsiningo, namely *Noosawapamukus* and *Machine-uka* who came along to represent their tribe. They informed the Governor that a deserter from the English army had been shown hospitality at the Nanticoke village.[13]

Following this, on August 14, 1760, a delegation of Nanticoke and Conoy came to Philadelphia for a conference with Governor Hamilton. The Nanticoke representatives were:

Robert White
John White
George White
William James
Abraham Siscoe
Jacob Sinoscoe

[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 195. Note White referred to Delawares as "cousins," not as "grandfathers." The former term was used by the Six Nations and subsequently adopted by the Nanticokes. It is apparent that in meeting with the Delawares, the Nanticoke were acting as messengers for the Five Nations. This is emphasized in *Colonial Documents of N. Y.*, VII, 67, where it is stated that the Nanticoke carried the message to the Delaware to meet at Otsiningo, at the specific request of the Six Nations.

[13] *Op. cit.*, p. 484.

The Conoy were:

Robert Andom
Mansieus
Manassee[14]

Robert White apologized for his bad English, and then informed the Governor that the Nanticoke and Conoy were still living at Otsiningo. He advised that many of the principal Nanticoke had joined Sir William Johnson in fighting the French and their Indian allies, as proof of their friendship for the English. He also told the Governor that two deserters from the Oswego garrison of the Battalion of Royal Americans had been living at their town. He added that his tribe was in poor straits, having little to eat or drink. Because this was one of the rare occasions when the Nanticoke went before the Pennsylvania authorities alone, and exclusively on their own behalf, the complete minutes are given in the Appendix.[15]

On March 9, 1761, Jo Peepy, a Delaware, appeared before Governor Hamilton and told him that three nations of Indians lived at Chenango [Otsiningo] namely the Nanticoke, Conoy, and Oneida, and that these Indians had asked him to obtain permission from the Governor for them to send messengers to visit him. The Governor expressed his approval, and on May 5, three Nanticokes, Jemmy, Jacob, and John White, came down from Chenango. Jemmy who spoke "tolerable good English" was the spokesmen, and he claimed that he was a messenger from the Seven Nations who received a belt of wampum from the Governor, but its meaning had been lost. Jemmy exhibited the belt and asked for an explanation of its meaning. The Governor replied that the belt had been given to Robert White the previous year, and that it had no special significance except to remind the Indians that the road to Philadelphia was always open to them. This satisfied the delegation. Before they departed, Jemmy told the Governor that a deserted soldier of German ancestry who had lived with them for two years desired to return to his home in York County and requested the Governor's assistance. The Governor promised to help, and gave the Indians a pass for the soldier.[16]

Another conference at Easton, Aug. 15, 1761, with Governor Hamilton and some 500 Indians representing "Onondaga, Cayuga, Oneida, Mo-

[14] *Op. cit.*, pp. 492-493.
[15] See Appendix, p. 147-149.
[16] *Penna. Col. Records*, VIII, 615.

hican, Nanticoke, Delaware, Tutelos, and Conoys." At this meeting Tokaaio spoke as follows:

"We the seven Nations, especially the Nanticokes & Conoys speak to you, About seven years ago [1754] we went down to Maryland with a Belt of Wampum to fetch our flesh and Blood which we shewed to some Englishmen there who told us they did not understand Belts, but if we brought an order in writing from the Governor of Pennsylvania, they would let our Flesh and Blood then come away with us, but as this was not done, they would not let them come; Now we desire you would give us an order for that purpose." The request was accompanied with a string of 5 rows of white beads.

The Governor then wrote a letter to Governor Sharpe recommending Robert White to him, and giving a passport for four Indians: Jacob Yockum, Dewaatyhunck (Oannondaga), and "young Robert White."[17]

This letter was not recorded in the Pennsylvania documents, and the writer was pleased to find it preserved in the Maryland Archives.[18] Because it helps to clarify the situation of the Nanticoke, it is given below in full:

"Phila. Aug. 27, 1761

"Sir

"At a late Treaty held with several nations of Indians at Easton, vizt, six Nations, Delawares, Nanticokes, Mohickons &c, the Nanticokes applied to me for my passport to certain Deputies appointed by them, to travel into Maryland in order to bring from thence several of their people who still reside in your Counties of Dorset and Somerset and to settle them with the body of their Nation on the north Branch of the River Susquehannah.

"I told them that as their Countrymen resided not in my Government but in yours, It was to you they must apply yo obtain permission for them to depart; and that I could no further intermeddle in the Affair than in giving them a letter to you with my recommendations of their Business.

"In compliance with my promise I now give you the trouble of this letter, which you will receive from Robert White an old Inhabitant

[17] *Penna. Col. Records*, VIII, 651, 661. One assumes that "young" Robert White was a son of elder Nanticoke having the same name.

[18] *Md. Archives*, p., 537.

of Somerset, who, accompanied by four other Indians awaits on you for the aforesaid purpose.

"All I have to say upon the occasion is, that this nation hath behaved well during the war, and is at present in strict amity with the English; and that unless you have particular reasons for not suffering the remnant of that nation to leave your country I see no prejudice it can bring to the publick Affairs. I am, with the greatest respect Sir, etc."

This letter shows conclusively that for more than 20 years, the Nanticoke who came into Pennsylvania and moved up the Susquehanna had been separated from other members of the tribe who still occupied the Eastern Shore.

Another reference to the Nanticoke occurs during a conference at Lancaster, August 14, 1762 attended by more than 500 Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, Tuscarora, Delawares and the following Nanticoke and Conoy:

Ullauckquam, or Robert White
Olaykenawighttamen, or Jemmy
Canahatch, or Last Night
Tuchsar, or Sam
Packsowamuchquis, or Charles
Packetallam, or Sam Adams and Several Others[19]

During the conference, which lasted several days, Seneca George requested that the Governor give Robert White, the old Nanticoke chief, a horse. He reminded the Governor that the old man carried messages between the Indians and the English, and that a mare had been previously given him, but the animal died in foal. A belt of 8 rows of beads was presented to confirm the request, which touched the Governor, and he granted the favor.

On September 17, 1763, Governor James Hamilton received three Nanticoke visitors at Philadelphia, namely, John Curtis, Sam Curtis and Jemmy Napire.[20] John Curtis, the spokesman, addressed the Governor in English, and pointed out that the Nanticoke "king" whom he represented, had been appointed by the other Indians to speak in behalf of the following tribes:

Oneida, Tuscarora, Delaware and Munsy settled at Onohoquagey
A few Shawnee at Awaigait
Nanticoke, Conoy, Onondaga and Mohegan settled at Otsiningo

[19] *Penna. Col. Records*, VIII, 730.
[20] *Penna. Col. Records*, IX, 445.

The nature of the discussion with the Governor was not of such importance as to concern us, but the above situation confirms that the Nanticoke, through their chiefs, served as messengers between the Indians and whites. It also illustrates how the Indian tribes had been broken up into heterogeneous settlements, and how the Nanticoke and Conoy population at Otsiningo had been modified by Onondaga and Mohegan.

Six years previous, we have evidence that the population at Otsiningo was undergoing changes as some Shawnee and Mohegan settled with the Nanticoke. In fact, April 19, 1757 an assembly of 150 Indians of mixed tribal affiliation conferred with Sir William Johnson at Fort Johnson, New York. The leaders, as given in the records of the meeting, were.

Paxinosa, King of the Shawnee

Hamichtagh'Tawatawa, King or Chief of the Nanticokes.

Abraham, alias Manma'tnikan, King or Chief of Mohickanders

The delegation was composed of 50 Shawnee, 148 Mohegan, 70 Six Nations Indians and 9 Nanticoke. Through their interpreter, Peter Spelman, who had married the Shawnee chief's daughter, the Indians informed Sir William that at Otsiningo lived three principal nations, viz., "the Shawanese, Nanticokes and Mohickanders, who are all brethren."

The Mohican chief then spoke as follows:

"Last spring [1756] with this Belt, the Nanticokes took us by the Hand and bid us set down by them. They said to us, 'You Mohickanders and we Nanticokes will be one people, and take you Mohickanders by the Hand as Brethren and fix you here at Otsiningo, where the Six Nations have lighted a council fire, and the Senecas appointed land for you to cultivate; call all your dispersed Brethren together, and sit down here with them as their habitation; and we Nanticokes assure you that whoever shall pinch or hurt you, we will feel it, and the Six Nations will do the same.' "[21]

[21] *Parker & Weymon*, 1757. Under date of June 21, 1757, Sir William Johnson wrote that: "The Seneca are drawing all the Indians they can to settle near them; most of the Mohickanders, or River Indians, who used to be dispersed through this and the Neighboring Provinces are removed and removing to Ostaningo, etc.," see *Penna. Col. Records*, VII, 628.

During the two decades which preceded the opening of hostilities in the Revolutionary War, the Nanticoke became so closely welded to the Six Nations that their own tribal individuality seems to have been absorbed in the affairs of the League. Consequently, we find them cited in many conferences with Sir William Johnson where the League's business was discussed with Iroquois spokesmen. Principal among these were the Albany Conference of 1748, numerous conferences at Fort Johnson, among which those held in 1753, 1756 and 1757 were the most notable, as well as the German Flats Conference of 1770. Nanticoke representatives were also reported among those present at a conference with the French in Montreal in 1756. At all of these meetings the affairs of the League remained the paramount issue, with the French and English in turn, trying to cement their relations with the Confederacy, and nothing of importance concerning the Nanticoke was recorded.[22]

Seemingly only once during the period immediately preceding the Revolution was the Nanticoke-English relationship near strained, and this came about through pressure exerted by the Onondaga on the Nanticoke. It appears that the former had pro-French leanings, and apparently tried to influence the Nanticoke to side with the French against the English. The episode is revealed in a meeting, April 16, 1759, at Conojohary between some Six Nations emissaries and Sir William Johnson. The Iroquois speaker made the following remarks:

"Brother, there is yet another affair which we will disclose to you, it is this—

"Some time agoe some of the Nanticokes our Nephews were sent for to Onondaga, and they went thither & were told that sometime or other the English would certainly rise and destroy them, that therefore the Onondagos told them they would give them a sharp hatchet, which they must swallow and keep in their bellys till a proper opportunity offered, which might call upon them to use it—

"The Nanticokes answered that they would take the Hatchet and swallow it as they proposed to speak to the Oneidas, who are their Uncles, and under whose direction they were & take our advice upon it. They did so, and we told them this hatchet would hurt them, if they did not vomit it up again, upon which they threw it up, and returned

[22] The minutes of these various conferences are scattered through the *Documents Relative To the Col. History of N. Y.*, Vols. 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10.

it to the Onondagas & we expect that the Onondagas will show you this hatchet."[23]

With this exception, which was quickly forgotten, the Nanticoke with the majority of the Six Nations continued to hold fast in the English interests. As late as March 7, 1775, John Penn informed the Pennsylvania Assembly that: "On Saturday last a number of Indians of Tuscarora, Nanticoke and County Tribes, who reside on the heads of Susquehanna came to Town [Philadelphia] with their families on a friendly visit to this Government. They represented to me that they are very poor and in great want of Cloathing and other Necessaries, which they earnestly request to be supplied with."[24]

[23] *N. Y., Col. Docs*, VII, 385.

[24] *Penna. Archives*, 4th series, III, 508.

X

TRIBE SEEKS ITS RELATIVES

Throughout the period of their abode in Pennsylvania and at Otsiningo, the Nanticoke made every effort to bring up the members of the tribe still remaining behind on the Eastern Shore. The reader will recall Canassatego's statement made in 1749 that there were three settlements of Nanticokes left behind in Maryland. Subsequently, in 1754, a Nanticoke delegation went down to Maryland to seek permission for their relatives to leave, but for reasons which are not clear, the Maryland government refused to allow this concession.

On July 3, 1755, at a conference with Sir William Johnson at Mt. Johnson, Kaghswughtioni, alias Red Head, an Onondaga sachem made the following request:

"We have taken into our Confederacy our Children the Skaniadaradighroonas [Nanticoke] and they are desirous you will look upon them as your Brethren; there are many of them who at present live in Maryland and want to come to live near to us that both our strength and their may be increased. We have sent for them by Belts of Wampum, but they are not effectual, for there are three Colonels in Maryland (they named the three Colonels, vizt., Scarborough, Henry, Hooper; the three chiefs *Jomikakonick* in Locust Neck, *Dame Jam in do* and *Gech* in Pekoinoke) near whose house they live, who in conjunction with three chief men amongst those Indians will not let them come away. We desire you will interpose and write to those persons to let them come away."[1]

Johnson replied that he would write letters about their removal, but the writer has been unable to locate any communication immediately following. The statement made by Kaghswughtioni makes clear that there were two settlements of Indians at Locust Neck, on the Choptank River and a third at Pekoinoke which the writer cannot identify, although the word seems unquestionably to be akin to Pocomoke. It is important that the chiefs of the Indians were also playing a part in holding them to their native homes, assisted by the white authorities.

[1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VI, 983.

Following this, as we have already shown in the previous chapter, Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania in 1761 wrote to Governor Sharpe of Maryland sending four Nanticokes down to Maryland to get the rest of their nation and bring them north.[2] Undoubtedly some of the Nanticoke returned with the four Indians that had come to get them, but a few conservatists still remained in Maryland, either of their own choice or under pressure of the whites. We must still remember that the Nanticoke still had legal rights to the two reservations that had been set aside for them, at Chicacoan and on Broad Creek.

In 1767 the Nanticoke at Otsiningo again reported to Sir William Johnson that some of their people still remained on the Eastern Shore, and that the tribe owned land there, referring, of course, to the two reservations. They asked that Sir William assist them in bringing their brethren north and in disposing of the land. Their Iroquois hosts endorsed their request. Sir William then arranged to send a deputation of 11 Indians, in charge of one of his loyal officers, Captain Amos Ogden, to visit Horatio Sharpe then the Governor of Maryland. Sir William wrote Governor Sharpe asking that the Indians be given every courtesy in expediting their mission.[3]

When the Indians arrived at Baltimore, Governor Sharpe entertained them, and gave them a letter to Colonel Henry Ennals and Charles Dickinson of Dorchester County advising that the Indians were coming over to the Eastern Shore with his permission. He urged that they be treated hospitably, and that any Nanticoke still living on the Eastern Shore be permitted to accompany the delegation when they returned to Otsiningo. He added that the General Assembly would take under consideration the matter of properly compensating the Indians for any lands that belonged to them.[4]

Governor Sharpe then wrote Sir William advising him that the Indians had arrived and that he had arranged to give them passage

[2] It might be noted here that the total Indian population of Maryland at this time must have been very small. We have no reliable figures, but in 1761 Governor Sharp wrote: "There are about 120 Indians in the populous parts of this Province who reside on Several Tracts of Land that were many years alloted to them and Appropriated to their sole and Proper use by Acts of Assembly which are still in force," *Md. Archives*, V. 32, p. 25.

[3] See Appendix, p. 150 for complete letter dated May 1, 1767.

[4] See Appendix, p. 150 for complete letter dated July 13, 1767.

to visit their relatives and invite them north, but that the question of compensation for lands would have to be referred to the Maryland Assembly.[5]

The visit seems to have been successful, and the deputation finally returned to Otsiningo accompanied by a large body of the tribe.[6] Loskiel wrote that in the year 1767 many Indians came to the Friedenshuetten mission of the Moravians (near present Wyalusing, Bedford County, Pa.) to hear the gospel. Among the visitors were Mohegan, Cayuga, Seneca, Tutelo, Delaware, Wampanose, Tuscarora and Nanticoke. He added "57 Nantikoks from Maryland came driven by hunger and stayed there some weeks."[7] Possibly these may have been some of the refugees on their way north.

On his return, Captain Ogden reported to Sir William and the latter again wrote Governor Sharpe, advising that the Nanticoke "have an inclination to dispose" of their lands in Maryland, "and as they are for the most part removed," Sir William said he approved it, and would appoint Captain Ogden as an attorney to transact their business. He urged that a handsome compensation be given to the Nanticoke, and that the sale be made public in Annapolis, and Ogden would return with the proceeds and distribute it to the Indians at Otsiningo.[8]

Immediately after, the Maryland Assembly passed an act in 1768 entitled, "An Act For Granting to the Nanticoke Indians A Compensation For The Lands Therein Mentioned." The preamble stated that "whereas the greatest part of the tribe of Nanticoke Indians have some years ago, left and departed the lands of this Province appropriated by former acts of assembly for their use, so long as they should occupy

[5] See Appendix, p. 151 for complete letter dated Aug. 20, 1767.

[6] In *The Life of Zeisberger, by de Schweintz,* it is stated that in the early summer of 1767 the deputation enroute to Maryland visited Zeisberger at Bethlehem. In September they returned, "bringing with them the Nanticokes." The delegation of 11 Indians included two of Zeisberger's Indian relatives, his nephew and his nephew's brother, Hachstagechte, Keeper of the Archives of the Iroquois Grand Council.

[7] *Loskiel, 1794,* p. 18. The Nanticoke were not all responsive to Moravian teachings. *Loskiel,* p. 19, said that those living at Otsiningo threatened to kill Brother Schmick, a Moravian preacher, because they objected to his influence on the Indians. The Nanticoke, according to Heckewelder, *Adolph, 1937,* p. 48, in 1751-57 tried to persuade the christianized Indians to desert the Moravians.

[8] See Appendix, p. 152, for complete letter dated March 25, 1768.

same; and the few that remain have by their petition to this General Assembly prayed that they might have liberty to dispose of their right to the said lands, or that some compensation should be made them for quitting claim thereto, as they are desirous of totally leaving this Province and going to live with their brethren who have incorporated themselves with the Six Nations, and that they have given power of attorney to a certain Amos Ogden to dispose of said lands for them," etc.[9]

The Assembly then directed that Amos Ogden be paid the sum of $\$666\frac{2}{3}$ for a release of right and full acquittal of the Nanticoke Indians to their reservations along the Nanticoke River and on Broad Creek. Thus, the Nanticoke finally relinquished the last of their land holdings in Maryland.[10] Ogden presumably returned to Otsiningo and distributed the cash among the tribe, although history is silent on its exact disposition.

The problem of the Nanticoke was still not settled to the satisfaction of the Six Nations who, as we have seen, left no stone unturned to protect their former tributaries. On Nov. 8, 1776, Richard Peters, Secretary to the Board of War, addressed a letter to the Mayland Council to the effect that:

"General Schuyler is very desirous of having an answer to his Letter respecting the Nanticoke Indians. The six Nations repeatedly complain that those of that Nation who were left in Maryland are detained there contrary to their Inclinations. This idea, tho not founded in Truth, creates much uneasiness with the General Congress have before written to your State on the Subject."[11]

[9] *Bozman*, I, 176-181 quotes the act, but erroneously concludes "it would appear that every individual or nation bid adieu forever to their ancient abode on the Nanticoke." We know from Murray's communication of 1792 that a small body of Indians remained behind.

[10] Note that the Indians on the Choptank were not paid for relinquishing their reservation. By Act of the Maryland Assembly, November Session 1801, Henry Waggaman was appointed a trustee "to take care of that part of the Indian lands in Dochester County which was laid off for, and occupied by, a certain Molley Mulberry, lately deceased . . . one of the tribe of the Choptank Indians . . . the quantity of twenty acres . . . the said Molley Mulberry being lately dead and leaving no descendants."

From this reference, it would appear that Molley Mulberry (either the same "Mrs. Mulberry" mentioned by Murray or a daughter) was the last of the Choptank, and she died leaving no heirs to her land, which was part of the original Choptank Reservation.

[11] *Md. Archives*, XII, 429.

This prompted a reply dated Nov. 15, 1776, from Maryland to the effect:

"We are honored by your favor of the 8th Inst. and upon the strictest enquiry cannot find that any Indians of the Six Nations are detained in Maryland contrary to their inclinations. Two or three strangers came, and joined the Nanticoke Indians some time ago, who still remain with them satisfied and well treated."[12]

Apparently, the Maryland authorities at that time misunderstood the original inquiry, for by the admission in their letter, there still remained a band of Nanticoke Indians in the province. Chronologically, Murray's letter of 1792 is the next reference to these Nanticoke-Choptank remnants, who eventually disappeared by intermarriage with other races.

Parker quotes an interesting reference found in the Journal of the Maryland Assembly for the year 1852. A committee of Nanticoke "chiefs and warriors" apparently from Canada, had visited Maryland hoping to obtain compensation for lands that had originally belonged to the tribe. They claimed land had been surveyed and set aside for them, but that they never received compensation. On March 12, 1852, a bill was introduced to appropriate money to pay the expenses of the visiting Nanticoke, but it and the bill to compensate them for lands, were both defeated.[13]

[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 447.
[13] *Parker, 1936*, p. 11.

XI

MOVE FROM OTSININGO TO NIAGARA; RAID PENNSYLVANIA FRONTIER

Pontiac's Rebellion in 1763 saw principally the Delawares, Shawnee, Mohican, Miami, Ottawa and Wyandot on the war path against the English, and again the Pennsylvania frontier was aflame. The Seneca were the only one of the Six Nations to join Pontiac, primarily because their interests in the Allegheny and Ohio region had been directly affected by the westward expansion of the colonists. The other members of the League seemed to have sustained a neutrality which, of course, determined the course followed by the Nanticoke and the "younger" tribal affiliates. During this outbreak and up until the time of the Revolution, the Nanticoke continued to inhabit the village of Otsiningo.

When the Revolution began, the English military leaders held councils with the chiefs of the Six Nations to enlist their support against the colonies. The League, as such, decided to take no part in the conflict, but allowed each member tribe to decide whether it would remain neutral or join the English. Under English persuasion, the majority of the chiefs voted to raise the war hatchet against the Americans. However, this was by no means a unanimous decision, for a large part of the Tuscarora and Oneida, as well as some of the Onondaga were neutral in the beginning.[1]

On January 27, 1777 a delegation of 70 Indian men and 100 women and children came to the Reformed Church at Easton, Pennsylvania, to meet with representatives of the Continental Congress and to pledge their neutrality. The delegation consisted of Cayuga, Seneca and the chiefs Amatincka, or "Raising Anything Up" of the Nanticoke and the elderly sachem Wilakinko or "Last Night" of the Conoy.[2] It is interesting to note that once more the Conoy and Nanticoke had separate chiefs even though the two tribes had merged.

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[1] Major Butler, English officer, wrote Colonel Bolton on Sept. 10, 1779 that many Tuscaroras, Oneidas and Ononadagas were in the "rebel interests." Many of them were later won over.

[2] *Sipe, 1929,* p 511.

Meanwhile, the British officer, Sir Henry Hamilton, in command of the Detroit garrison was inciting excursions against the frontier by offering awards to the Indians for bringing in scalps. At Fort Niagara, at the mouth of the Niagara River, where another English garrison was housed under the command of Lieut-Col. Mason Bolton, inducements were also offered to the Indians, particularly the Six Nations, to attack the American settlements. As a result the Pennsylvania colonists were exposed to sudden raids by Indian warriors and many peaceful inhabitants were massacred and their homes burned.

General George Washington, Commander-in-chief of the colonial armies, decided that this constant threat of Indian attack from the North had to be brought under control. Consequently, in 1779 he sent General John Sullivan from Easton up the Susquehannah with a force of 5000 men. Meanwhile, Colonel Brodhead was moving up the Allegheny from Fort Pitt. By drawing off and mobilizing a good part of the Seneca strength, Brodhead assured Sullivan's success. Sullivan's only real battle was near present Elmira, New York, on August 29, 1779, but his soldiers raided and sacked all the important Iroquois towns, and many smaller ones—a total of some 40. General Clinton, whose brigade marched from Otsego Lake to join Sullivan's main forces at Tioga, destroyed six Iroquois towns. The combined forces burnt houses and destroyed corn fields and orchards.[3]

As a result of the sacking of their territory, the Iroquois were pressed back to Fort Niagara for haven, and Colonel Bolton found himself with more than 5,000 Indians to house and feed. Among these homeless natives were the Nanticoke inhabitants of Otsiningo. They had fled from their village before the appearance of Sullivan's army, as evidenced in the following citation. From Dec. 30, 1778 to Jan. 26, 1779, 2,623 Indians arrived at Niagara; some stayed while others departed. In a census taken during this period by Colonel Bolton, the Nanticoke are listed as:

Present	*Gone*	*Total*
78	42	120

The Conoy are listed:

—	30	30

[3] *Sipe, 1929,* for a complete account of Sullivan's march, and *Parker, 1929,* for the Indian view of the attack.

On May 3, 1780, Colonel Guy Johnson, who had succeeded his illustrious uncle Sir William as Superintendent of Indian affairs, wrote to General Sir Frederick Haldimand his commander about the Indians then gathered at Niagara. The italics are supplied:

"I have held some private Conferences with them on the propriety of harassing the frontier to shew the spirit of the Indians, to lessen the consumption of provisions and to gain intelligence. . . . *Shenop, the Nanticoke chief was alert to the occasion,* as well as some gallant Senecas and others . . ."[4]

In the same letter, Johnson continued:

"Captain Brant was enabled to march the middle of February and Captain Nelles and other officers with 220 Indians, *A party of 25 soon followed with Shenop,* another of 30 Senecas, succeeded by a larger and some Delawares."

Reporting on the success of this mission, Johnson continued:

"Captain Shenop near the same place [Wyoming] took & destroyed a boat with stores for the fort, killed one officer and took four Men among them is a late Continental Lieutenant. Capt. Brant [a Mohawk] and Shenop with the rest deserve notice for having agreeable to my desire generously Liberated above twenty Women and Children who fell into their hands, which will show that Indians do not always deserve the reproaches of the Rebels."

On May 18, 1780, Johnson again wrote to his commander from Niagara that Captain Shenop had gone out with 23 Nanticoke warriors on a raid.[5] In the fall of the same year, a certain Lieutenant Johnson, Shenop and Montour (the latter, an Indian, was killed in the en-

[4] This information is quoted from manuscript material, photostats of which are in possession of the Library of Congress, cataloged as *British Museum Add. Mss. 12767.* The complete files are numbered, *Add. Mss. 21661-21881,* and are also known as the "Haldimand Papers." Mr. Merle Deardorff first called my attention to the existence of this unpublished source material and kindly loaned me typscripts which he had made of the photostats. Subsequently, with the cooperation of the Wilmington Institute Free Library, I was able to obtain loan copies of all of the papers. Before the appearance of this new material it was generally believed that the Nanticoke had remained neutral during the Revolution. The writer himself made this inference in an early paper, *Weslager, 1943* (b) p. 353, which he takes this opportunity to correct.

[5] *British Add. Mss.* 21,767.

gagement) made a raid in Pennsylvania, returning to Niagara on October 12. Johnson wrote of their success:

"In the Action in Pensilvania one Colonel of Militia, two Lieutenants, one Serjeant & Twenty Rangers were killed. One Lieutenant, one Enseign, one Serjeant, and one private made prisoner, besides burning Fort Jenkins with near 400 Bushels of Grain with two mills and twelve Dwelling Houses."[6]

On January 17, 1781, 67 Indians went out with "the gallant Nanticoke" Shenop and a British lieutenant to raid the Susquehannah territory again.[7]

Johnson referred to Shenop and Montour as "two Indians who have been peculiarly distinguished for their successes and gallant behaviour."[8] Shenop seems to have concentrated his attacks in eastern Pennsylvania along the Susquehanna, but he also raided along the Delaware and was credited with taking 4 prisoners and 3 scalps near Easton.[9]

The increasing Indian population at Fort Niagara brought many problems to the English officers, and it was decided to send the natives to a suitable place where they could plant their own corn and also be available as needed. Johnson wrote that he had decided "to direct them to settle on the Rich plain in the Neighborhood of the Seneca settlements I formed last year on Buffalo Creek where beside their being less exposed to do or suffer harm, they can be more readily collected on any emergency, and the goodness of the Soil will sooner enable them to provide for themselves, etc."[10]

In a census taken by Johnson of Indians returned from planting at Buffalo Creek, we have another record of the Nanticoke population—166 persons. This probably did not include some of the young men who may have been out on raids at the time, but evidently the total tribe did not then exceed 200 individuals.

[6] *Ibid.* Fort Jenkins was situated in Exeter Township within the present limits of West Pittston, Penna.; see *Frontier Forts*, I, 445.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Sipe, 1929*, p. 678, gives an account of a raid in which Shenop participated and which he dates as "probably in 1782."

[10] *Ibid.* Buffalo Creek empties through what is today the lower part of the city of Buffalo.

RETURN OF INDIANS OF COLONEL GUY JOHNSON'S DEPARTMENT GONE TO PLANT AT BUFFALO CREEK NIAGARA, MAY 13, 1781

Companies	*Nations*	*Villages*	*Chiefs*	*Number Men*	*Women*	*Children*	*Total*
PRICE	Onondagas	Onondaga	Deigwanda	92	143	42	277
	Onondagas	Ganaghsaragey	Kaghstohere	17	17	5	39
	Onondagas	Otchiningo	Cornelius	8	8	4	20
	Tuscaroras	Ganaghsaragey	Cornelius	6	11	5	22
BRANT	Oneidas	Oneida	Skondo	16	11	4	31
	Moheecons	Aughquagy	Aaron	15	11	9	35
	Cayugas	Owegy	Dogs Breeches	23	20	18	61
LOTTRIDGE	Cayugas	Cayuga	Tagaaia	66	122	124	312
	Cayugas	Chughquagy	John Montour	7	18	10	35
	Taderighronos	Chughquagy	Tekaraghka	28	48	21	97
	Tutelo						
NELLES	**Nanticokes**	**Chughquagy**	**Shenop**	**57**	**70**	**39**	**166**
	Delawares	Shamung	Loaghkas	41	64	41	146
	Delawares	Chughnut	Thomas Decker	67	84	37	188
	Moheecons	Esopus	Phillip Hoff	22	31	12	65
	Shawanese	Esopus	Mattego	16	19	11	46
		GENERAL TOTAL		481	677	482	1540

The accompanying table gives a complete inventory of the Indian tribes who left Fort Niagara, May 13, 1781, to plant at Buffalo Creek. The Nanticoke are listed as having previously occupied the village Chughquagy with the Cayuga and Tutelo. This probably indicates that after leaving Otsiningo they paused temporarily at Chughquagy, and then came directly to Niagara.

With the close of the Revolution came a final breakdown of Indian society as a dominant factor in the political system. Those of the Six Nations and their affiliates who had fought against the colonists were not kindly regarded by the Americans. Through circumstances over which they had no control, they were divided and subdivided. Some went west[11] others settled on reservations in New York, but the majority of Nanticoke left Fort Niagara to move into Canada where today some of their descendants may still be found.

[11] As early as April 11, 1769 Zeisberger noted in a section of his diary as yet unpublished that: "Even the Nantikoks have left Zeninga [Otsiningo?] to come here." Obviously, his meaning is that some of the members of the tribe had broken away from the main band. This diary was written at Goschgoschink, the name for Indian settlements on the western bank of the Allegheny River in Western Pennsylvania. The diary, covering a 15 month period, is still in manuscript, but M. R. Deardorff is in possession of a translation made expressly for him by Miss Tilde Marks. A recent essay by him was largely based on this source, *Deardorff, 1946.* I am very much indebted to him for loaning me a copy of the translation from which an excerpt on Nanticoke as poisoners will be quoted in a later chapter.

XII

NANTICOKE EMPERORS AND CHIEFS

From the references previously cited, (see fn. 3, p. 46) we can assume that each of the original Nanticoke towns had its own head man, *werowance,* or chief—a king, in English nomenclature. The great sachem who ruled over these lesser kings was designated by the English as an Emperor. The word is of European origin, but apparently the concept of a ruling sachem was known to native political ideology.

The first Nanticoke Emperor to be recorded in history was Unnacokasimmon who lived at Chicacoan Town. The Maryland authorities were known to have "accommodated and entertained him" during the early period when friction was rife between whites and Indians, thus winning his friendship. In fact, Unnacokasimmon seems to have developed definite pro-English feelings which many of his subjects resented. When death came suddenly to the old Emperor it was hinted that one faction of his followers had poisoned him.[1] The Emperor had almost autocratic power. In 1680 when the Piscataway and their allies were being pressed by their Iroquoian enemies, Unnacokasimmon invited them to move across the bay and live under the protection of the Nanticoke. The Piscataway seemed willing, but one of their affiliates, the Mattawoman, through their king refused the invitation, claiming that the Eastern Shore Indians were as much their enemies as the Susquehannock.[2]

The following year, Unnacokasimmon sent his brother, "Mr. Robert," to offer the assistance of the Nanticoke against the Northern Indians.[3]

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[1] *Md. Archives,* VII, 39, Unnacokasimmon entertained by the authorities. See V, 553 for the following citation: "we have information that the late Empr by some that wish not well to the English was poisoned and that the present Empr is little better than an Userper."

An historical marker near Vienna, Md. is erected to the chief's memory. It reads as follows: "Unnacokosimmon, Emperor to the Nanticoke Indians Lived (about 1677) at Chicacone an Ancient Indian Town North of this Point. The Nanticoke Indian Reservation was laid out by an Act of Assembly in 1698 containing 5166¼ acres."

[2] *Md. Archives,* XV, 284.

[3] *Md. Archives,* XVII, 33.

Unnacokasimmon was succeeded by his brother Ohoperoon, or Ahoperoon (also called Opeter or Opetah) about 1687. The old Emperor had at least two sons, Nicodepeto[4] and Asquash[5] and the succession of reign to his brother is suggestive of matrilineal progression. Little is known of Ohoperoon's reign except that the English confirmed his election and renewed the treaty of peace originally drawn up with Unnacokasimmon.[6]

On August 11, 1687, at the house of an Eastern Shore official a delegation of white men headed by Colonel William Stevens, with Christopher Nutter and John Mallet as interpreters, met with a delegation consisting of the following Nanticoke Indians:[7]

Opeter, Brother to the late Empr Unnacokasimmon

Cotah Omapatoe Wannamah Hammatoh, War Capt Passemeaca Chinopah	Great Men

The reference to Hammatoh, War Capt., is significant, for it indicates that the Nanticoke followed the custom known to other Algonkian tribes of appointing separate leaders for conducting wars.[8]

In 1692, following Ohoperoon's death, the Nanticoke leaders were summoned before the Maryland authorities and asked when they intended to choose a new emperor. They replied that they would do so three months hence, and were told that as soon as they had done so,

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[4] *Md. Archives*, XVII, 460, an Indian murderer named Sampson was delivered up in 1685 by Nicodepeto, a son of the Emperor of Nanticoke.

[5] *Md. Archives*, VIII, 533.

[6] See *Appendix*, p. 139.

[7] *Md. Archives*, V, 555. Also on p. 556 the names of two other contemporary Nanticoke great men are given, viz., Ashinnam and Watenan. The Indian Chinopah named above is doubtless the same as the form Chinehopper, the name of a Nanticoke in 1742.

[8] In the *Anonymous Relation of Md.* 1635, we find the following: "They also have Cockorooses that are their Captains in time of war to whom they are very obedient." A similar term was used among the Virginia Algonkian and recorded by Smith as "caw-cawwassoughes." It was used by the Nanticoke and other Maryland tribes.

the former articles of peace would be renewed.[9] The Great Men were further cautioned that they should be certain to keep peace until "such time as they shall have elected and confirmed their Emperor and then they are to apply themselves to Colonel Hutchins who will accompany them and their Emperor with the several Kings and Great Men . . . to come over . . . to conclude and sign new articles."[10] The English followed the practise of renewing the covenant with each successive emperor, and thus by withholding renewal when it suited their purpose, they could exercise closer control over the tribe. The same technique was used in their negotiations with the Piscataway and Assateague.

Shortly after, the Nanticoke gathered together at what they called a "matchcomaco" or council, and elected a son of their old Emperor Unnacokasimmon, named Ashquash (also called Atquash or Asquas) to be their new head chief.[11] The new emperor apparently did not follow in his father's steps in his relations with the whites, for on May 14, 1692, he was declared an enemy of the province, and "dismissed and discharged" by the English—a convenient way of deposing an Indian monarch without making a referendum to his subjects. The Maryland government then named two Nanticoke great men who were acceptable to them as the leaders of the tribe; namely, Panquas and Annoughtoughk. They were designated by the titles "Captain" and "Assistant in the Rule," respectively, but the term emperor was not given to either. The articles of peace were then promptly confirmed.[12]

By 1705, Ashquash was again temporarily in good graces with the government of Maryland, for the treaty of peace was renewed with him, which can only be interpreted to mean that he was reinstated as emperor after some sort of compromise had been made.[13]

During the period when Ashquash was not officiating, Panquash and Annoughtoughk conducted the negotiations with the government on behalf of the tribe. On one occasion they were warned to take no notice of an Indian pretender named Felton who called himself the Emperor

[9] *Md. Archives,* XIII, 323.

[10] *Op. cit.* p. 323.

[11] *Md. Archives,* VIII, 533.

[12] See *Appendix,* p. 142 for treaty.

[13] *Md. Archives,* XXVI, 442, Governor consented to recognize Ashquash. See Appendix, p. 143 for treaty.

of Nanticoke, "for he is not appointed by this Govt. neither does his Excellency look upon him so to be."[14]

Ashquash continued to be recognized as the Nanticoke Emperor until the year 1713 when, under white pressure and threat, he deserted his people and fled north to live with the Susquehanna Indians in Pennsylvania, leaving a son William Ashquash at Chicacoan Town.[15] We are not told the specific events leading up to his abdication, but three of the Nanticoke great men told the Maryland Council. "That as they had made him Emperour if he had stayed he might have remained so, but as he was gone away he should never be their Emperour any more."[16] The authorities feared that the deposed emperor might tell his troubles to the Indians on the Susquehanna, and enlist sympathy for himself, which might result in an attack on the English. Therefore, Maryland sent a committee to Conestoga to nip in the bud any attempt on the emperor's part to seek revenge. The mission seems to have succeeded, but once again the recorded details are meager, and there are many questions which one is unable to answer.

Panquash and Annoughtoughk again seem to have come to the front after Ashquash fled north. On August 18, 1721, Governor Charles Calvert held council with some Seneca and Onondaga chiefs at Annapolis who came to renew articles of peace Maryland had drawn up with the Five Nations. They were accompanied by Annoughtoughk, "great man of the Nanticokes" and other Nanticoke leaders, including Panquash. Ghesaont was the Seneca speaker, and Annoughtoughk spoke for the Nanticoke. The latter presented a belt of wampum to the governor in behalf of the Seneca and Nanticoke "in token that the two tribes are friends."[17] It is obvious that the differences between the Nanticokes and their former enemies from the north had at last been settled, and the Nanticoke were content to accept the Iroquois as their overlords.

In 1723 a complaint came to the authorities from one Amaussenaugus, Emperor of Nanticoke, that Capt. John Rider of Dorchester County and

[14] *Md. Archives*, XXIII, 456 (1698). It is regrettable that we have no written records of internal tribal affairs during this period of changes in chieftaincy provoked by the English. We have no way of knowing whether Ashquash continued to wield authority among his people nor what their attitude was toward him.

[15] *Md. Archives*, XXIX, 273.

[16] *Op. cit.* p. 228

[17] *Md. Archives*, XXV, 361. At this meeting the Governor presented Annoughtoughk and Panquash with stroud matchcoats.

William Ennals had taken possession of some of the tribal lands.[18] This is the only reference the writer has found to Amaussenaugus, and it is not clear whether he had been elected with English consent, or whether the term emperor was used loosely in referring to him. However, by now, the English influence on the tribe was so strong that the Indians were no longer able to act independently in the choice of an emperor as they had done before.

In 1725 Harry or Henry Coursey was referred to as the Emperor of the Nanticoke at Chicacoan Town,[19] but once more it is not clear whether he had been duly elected by the tribe or was merely one of the several great men.

The use of English names by the Indians should also be noted in passing. Coursey was the name of a prominent white settler. The writer has commented elsewhere on the adoption of the names of white persons by the Eastern Shore Indians at a very early date.[20] Many of the Indians of the period had two names—their native name, and the one they had taken from the English. In some cases the Indian name was used in conjunction with the Christian name.

During the period immediately preceding the conspiracy with the Shawnee at Winnasoccum, there does not seem to have been an Indian recognized as emperor, either by the tribe nor the English. The towns at the reservations at Chicacoan and Broad Creek each had their great men—among which were the name Coursey, Panquash, and Ashquash, doubtless relatives of previous leaders of the same names. One of the excuses given by the Indians in testimony to explain why they had assembled in the swamp was that they had intended to elect an emperor. They said they did not elect one because they did not have enough skins and wampum.[21] While it may have been false that they assembled for an election, nevertheless, the reference is significant in that it indicates gifts of wampum and skins were tendered the candidate during the election ceremony.

[18] *Op. cit.*, p. 419.

[19] *Md. Archives*, XXXV, 273.

[20] *Weslager, 1943*, see Chapter 4.

[21] *Md. Archives*, XXVIII, 268, Indian Coursey said he and Panquash ordered the Indians to meet in the swamp to "chuse an Emperor." Panquash deposed that "the Reason they did not make an Emperor was because they had not Money [beads] nor skins enough to bear their Expences." The Indian named Captain John said that they went to the swamp to hunt "get 300 skins and chuse an Emperor."

The treaties which were drawn up following the failure of the Indian plot in 1742 prohibited the natives from gathering together to elect an emperor, which was one of the principal reasons why they petitioned the Five Nations to allow them to come north. By 1757 the handful of Indians still remaining on the Eastern Shore decided that they ought to have a duly elected leader as they had in the past, despite their reduced numbers. At this time only two small Indian towns remained—one at Locust Neck on the upper Choptank and the other at Chicacoan. The occupants of the two villages had intermarried, and no sharp distinction was made between those descended from the Choptank and those of Nanticoke ancestry. All were called Nanticokes. A schism developed among these Indians of Dorchester County over their choice of an emperor, and at this late date (1757) a petition was directed to Governor Horatio Sharpe signed by ten Indians and reading as follows:[22]

"That your Petitioners and their Ancestors till of Late years have been constantly Governed by Emperors, but as we have no Person at Present among our tribes Invested with such Power of Government we beg that your Excellency would be pleased to Appoint Peter Monk to be Emperor of the Nanticoke Indians."

Simultaneously a second petition was presented to the governor by the other faction of Indians, asking that their "well beloved brother George Poakaleyhouse" be appointed as their chief and head Indian. This petition bore the marks of 13 Indians.[23]

Still a third petition was presented later by 17 Indians again urging that George Pocatous (Poakaleyhouse) be appointed their Emperor. In this petition we find the following interesting allusion.

> "That we the Natives of this Land Both before and after the English came here Enjoyed our Antient Priviledges and Customs which were handed Down to us by our forefathers, untill within

[22] *Md. Archives*, XXXI, 352. The signers of the petition were Abraham Bishop, Thomas Bishop, Ann Bishop, Mary Pincher, John Williams, Thomas Joshua, Mary Bishop, Naomy Prince, Anne Cohonk and Amey Prince. All of these Indians signed the petition with their marks. The first two named were definitely occupants of the former Choptank town at Locust Neck, but it is not certain whether the others lived at Locust Neck or Chicacoan.

[23] *Op. cit.*, p. 353. The petition was signed by John Williams, William Cohonk, James Pincher, Ann Cohonk, Tom Tobe, John Squash, Nancy Asquash, Molley Ashquash, Nancy Cohonk, Sarah Cohonk, Moses Ashquash, James Cohonk.

these two or three years Last Past. when two or three of the English with a Selfish View sowed discord amongst us, making Divisions amongst us in respect to our chooseing our Emperor or Great or Head man, indeavoring to set up such as suited their own Ends. . . we most humbly hope that your Excellency will acquiesce to this our mutual Choice Both by which and by Heirship Lineally Devolves on George Pocatous and his Heairs.[24]

His excellency, Governor Sharpe, was doubtless non-plussed by these requests, because he was not certain which of the claimants had valid rights to the emperorship. Fortunately, a deposition made by a white woman named Mary Cratcher helped resolve the issue.

"At the Request of the Nanticoke Indians I take the Liberty to acquaint your Honor that I have been Acquainted with the aforesaid Indians Forty-two years (my place of Residence being a part of their Town) and very well know George Pocatehouse or Pocatous as some call him to be a descendant from the family of old Panquash one of those Indians to whom his Lordship gave the grant for the Nanticoke Town Lands and Likewise that William Cohonk is a Descendant from the Aforesaid Nanticoke Indians. Cohonk's Mother lived with me from a Girl and I was Acquainted with her until her Death and that she was the Daughter of old Panquash as aforesaid and farther that Peter Monk is a Descendant from the Indian River Indians in Worcester County [Assateague tribe] and no ways allied to the Nanticoke Indians as I have been informed by the old Nanticoke Indians who I have Often heard Speak of Monks' Family."[25]

[24] *Op. cit.*, p. 354. The signers were Abram Bishop, William Asquash, William Cohonk, James Cohonk, Joshua Thomas, John Quash, Sarah Ashquash, Sarah Cohonk, Nancy Cohonk Sen., Nancy Cohon the nd, Nancy Asquash, Mary Asquash, Nancy Cohonk the rd, Nancy Cohonk the fth, James Pincer, John Williams, Moses Ashquash.

It should be noted that apparently there were many descendants of Ashquash, the former Nanticoke Emperor who had fled north in 1713. One of these descendants, Jacob Asquash, served the Nanticoke as interpreter in a meeting with Governor James Hamilton, Sept. 24, 1771, *Penna. Col. Records*, IX, 773.

[25] *Md. Archives*, XXXI, 355, Mary Cratcher's letter was dated April 3, 1759. She was then 74 years of age. See *Archives*, XXXII, 208-209 to effect that she kept a ferry on the northwest fork of the Nanticoke. This would be on the Marshy Hope near or on the Chicacoan Reservation, at the present town of Brookview, Md.

The above deposition is also significant in that it illustrates clearly that the Indians made a sharp distinction between the Nanticoke and Assateague tribes, and that a descendant of a member of the latter tribe was not eligible to become a chief of the Nanticoke.

The authorities decided, based on the evidence introduced, that Pocatous (Poakaleyhouse) had the best right to the emperorship, both by election and descent, and it was so ordered. Nothing is known of his tenure as emperor, but undoubtedly he was the last leader on the Eastern Shore to be chosen by the members of the tribe according to their ancient custom. We do not know whether he remained in Maryland until his death or if he left for Pennsylvania as so many before him had done. In 1798 when William Vans Murray answered Thomas Jefferson's printed questionnaire relating to Indian customs, he stated that he had found 9 Indians, probably of mixed Nanticoke and Choptank descent, still occupying the old town at Locust Neck. They were reported to be all that was left in Maryland of the Nanticoke tribe, and he stated that the others had all gone north with the Six Nations, 25 years before, i. e., circa 1767. These 9 Indians told him that Wynicaco had been their last emperor or king, but that he had been dead for some 80 years. This would place his death between 1712 and 1717. This information has erroneously resulted in a wide acceptance of Murray's statement that Wynicaco was the last Nanticoke Emperor, but we have already cited that Asquash was the emperor until 1713, followed by the administration of Panquash and Annoutoughk. The writer has traced Wynicaco's ancestry in another paper, showing that he was a son of Ababco, the Choptank chief, and not a descendant from any of the Nanticoke "royal families." [26]

The body of the tribe who moved north into Pennsylvania is known to have had a number of successive leaders, none of whom merited the title of emperor. In fact, the term emperor was not used by the Pennsylvania government in referring to Indian chiefs. The Pennsylvanians preferred the term "king" as applied to a head chief, and the great men were known simply as "chiefs." No clear chronology of Nanticoke kings, or even chiefs, has been preserved following their entry into Pennsylvania; in most cases their names have not even been recorded. In 1753 Zeisberger in his journal mentions Chief Patrick and "old Chief Cossey" of the Nanticoke tribe, with "one White" as the interpreter, probably Robert White. In June, 1756, a note occurs in the

[26] *Weslager, 1944.*

documents that the "Nanticoke King" at Otsiningo is dead.[27] Unfortunately his name is not given. In 1763 another "Nanticoke king" is mentioned as having been appointed to speak in behalf of a number of tribes.[28] Again, the king's name is conspicuously missing, and perhaps the task of attempting to record an unpronounceable Indian name in English characters was too difficult for the white scribes. This may have been the same king about whom the missionary Loskiel wrote in 1767 that at Wajomick [Wyoming] "they made an agreeable acquaintance with the chiefs of the Nanticoke tribe, one of whom 87 years of age was a remarkably intelligent man." [29]

One outstanding Nanticoke is frequently mentioned in the Pennsylvania documents, namely, Robert White, whose Indian name was Wolahocremy. He was usually referred to as "chief" or "interpreter," and served faithfully as a messenger between the Pennsylvania authorities and the Iroquois and their allies, using to advantage his knowledge of the English language. He was also a very valuable informant, and most of the data which Heckewelder obtained relating to the Nanticoke was from the lips of Robert White. The chief was spoken of as an Indian formerly of Somerset County, Maryland, which definitely places him as having come from the Nanticoke drainage area on the Eastern Shore. Some of the other so-called Nanticoke chiefs may have been descended from the Conoy who joined forces with the Nanticoke. White is last mentioned in 1785, when Heckewelder states that he then lived in Canada and was visited by a group of approximately 50 members of the Nanticoke tribe "going through Canada to the Miami country to settle beside the Shawanos in consequence of an invitation they had received from them." [30] White had become a Christian under

[27] *Beauchamp, 1905*, p. 307 quotes the reference, without giving an authority, but the writer has found it in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VII, 141. This nameless king may have been the same one who congratulated Sir William Johnson on his appointment the previous year, June 1755. Unable to attend a conference at Mt. Johnson because of illness, the king sent his son with the following message: "I am very much rejoiced to hear that the King our Father hath granted the request of the Several Nations of Indians our Brethren by appointing you to the management of our affairs." *Johnson Papers*, I, 640.

[28] *Penna. Col. Records*, IX, 45. In 1765 Montour and Scaraoudy reported that the chief man of the Nanticokes was one Fisher whose Indian name was *Skayanas*, *op. cit.*, VII, 68.

[29] *Loskiel, 1794*, p. 120. The quotation refers to a journey of David Zeisberger and Bishop Cammerhof to Onondaga.

[30] *Heckewelder*, p. 92.

the influence of the Moravians, and had left his tribe some time earlier to join the Christian Indians at Schschequon, a town six miles below Tioga Point in Bradford County where a number of Munsey had settled.

During the Revolution the warrior named Captain Shenop was cited as being a Nanticoke chieftain, but the exact nature of his position and authority in the tribe is unknown. By this time the office of chief no longer held the same prerogatives as in previous years inasmuch as the Six Nations then dominated the native scene in Pennsylvania and New York.[31]

In 1914, Dr. Frank G. Speck during ethnological investigations among the Indians on the Six Nations Reserve in Ontario, Canada, was privileged to examine the Record Book of the Six Nations Council which has since been taken from the Indians by the Canadian authorities. The records indicated that the Nanticoke in 1753 were adopted by the Cayuga and taken into the League. The records also listed the Nanticoke families who had incorporated with the Six Nations and were living on the reserve in 1845.[32] The entries made by Indian scribes, who by then had learned to read and write, showed that prior to 1870 there were four Nanticoke chiefs' offices, and the incumbents were admitted to seats in the Six Nations Council. These chiefs bore certain name-titles which were assumed by their successors as though they were their own names. In this way, the name-titles were handed down from generation to generation. After 1870 two of the Nanticoke chief offices were abolished, leaving the tribe with only two representatives on the Six Nations Council. These chiefs were selected for life by certain women of the tribe known as matrons.[33]

A student of Iroquoian society will immediately recognize that these customs of election of chiefs were borrowed by the Nanticoke from the Six Nations. It should be further apparent that the concept of emperorship which characterized Nanticoke society prior to the tribe's incorporation with the Six Nations had disappeared. Similarly, the Nanticoke language, customs and ceremonies gave way under the

[31] The material relating to Captain Shenop is also found in the *British Museum Add. Mss.* previously quoted.

[32] In 1785 a band of Nanticokes went westward to settle with the Shawnee and Delaware, but a small group remained behind on the Six Nations Reserve where a few descendants still live.

[33] *Speck, 1927.*

influence of the Iroquois and within a short time little remained that could be exhibited as being typical or characteristically Nanticoke.

A final word should be added pertaining to Indian descendants still living in Delaware who some years ago incorporated under the name of the Nanticoke Indian Association. In another volume, the writer has discussed in detail their claim to recognition as *bona fide* Indian descendants.[34] It is now generally accepted that their ancestral affiliations were with the tribe occupying the eastern coast of the Delmarva Peninsula rather than with those who lived along the Nanticoke River, although increments from the latter people may, indeed, be present. In other words, on historical grounds there is reason to assume a connection with the Assateague, in which case, it would seem perhaps more logical to identify them as Nanticoke-Assateague descendants.

[34] *Weslager, 1945.*

XIII

BURIAL CUSTOMS AND WITCHCRAFT

One of the most widely discussed traits in Nanticoke culture was their burial practise, and it is generally stated by most historians of Delaware and Maryland that the tribe dug up the bones of the dead and carried them away when they left the peninsula.[1] Many of these statements are traceable to Heckewelder who wrote:

"These Nanticokes had the singular custom of removing the bones of their deceased friends *from the burial place* to the place of deposit in the country they dwell in. In earlier times they were known to go from Wyoming to Chemenk to fetch the bones of their dead from the eastern shore of Maryland, even when the bodies were in a putrid state so that they had to scrape off the flesh and scrape the bones clean before they could carry them along I well remember having seen them between the years 1759 and 1760 loaded with such bones which being fresh caused a disagreeable stench as they passed through the town of Bethlehem."[2]

The writer has italicized part of the above quotation to emphasize that Heckewelder did not say that the Nanticoke literally dug up the bones of their dead. To remove bones from a "burial place" does not necessarily mean that the place was a grave in the ground. Moreover, Heckewelder's inference that the bones were scraped of flesh to make them less odious in transportation is his own interpretation of a mortuary practise whose symbolism went much deeper in native philosophy than the missionary was aware.

[1] *Scharf, 1888*, p. 21 cites an account of the finding of a large ossuary near Laurel, Delaware, where "several wagon-loads" of human bones were found. He says that before leaving Delaware the Nanticoke assembled at this spot bringing the bones of their dead who had been buried elsewhere. He also admits that they took some bones north with them. Scores of popular writers in Delaware and Maryland have seized this idea, and practically every newspaper account that has appeared on the Nanticoke stresses the bone-transporting episode. One writer naively states that the "Lenape [*sic!*] dramatically left Delaware in a great body, taking with them the bones of their ancestors." (Anna T. Lincoln, *Wilmington, Delaware, under Four Flags*, 1937, p. 12.)

[2] *Heckewelder*, 1876.

Zeisberger had a somewhat different account of the same burial custom, and he wrote:

"The Nanticokes . . . have this singular custom that about three or four months after the funeral they open up the grave, take out the bones, clean them of the flesh and dry them, wrap them up in new linen and inter them again. A feast is usually provided for the occasion consisting of the best they can afford. Only the bones of the arms and legs of the corpse are thus treated. All the rest is buried or burned." [3]

Brinton said that the Nanticoke corpse was buried for some months, then exhumed and the bones carefully placed in a large burial pit or ossuary called *man-to-kump* (place of mystery or spirit). He adds that when the Nanticoke moved into Pennsylvania they brought these "venerable relics" with them and reinterred them near present Towanda, Pennsylvania, from whence its name was derived, *Tawandeunk*, meaning where we bury our dead.[4]

There seems to be little question that when the Nanticoke moved north from the Eastern Shore they carried the bones of some of their dead with them. There is also evidence in the records that when they moved from one town in Pennsylvania to another they also carried some bones with them. This is inferred in the records of the Indian conference at Easton in 1757. At this meeting three Nanticoke messengers were sent to congratulate Conrad Weiser on the conclusion of the peace with the Indians. Then, "by a String of Wampum desired that the Government might send some person with them to Lancaster to take care of them, and supply them with the necessaries on the Road, as they were come to take the Bones of their Friends which died at Lancaster to their own town to be Buried with the Relations." [5]

Having established the fact that the tribe did transport some of the bones of their dead, it falls on us to probe deeper into the custom to seek an explanation. The writer is unwilling to accept statements that they dug up the bones merely for sentimental reasons. A very helpful clue is found in William Van Murray's letter to Thomas Jefferson, already cited, which relates to the Choptank-Nanticoke survivors at Locust Neck in 1792. In his letter, Murray stated that these Indians had

[3] *Zeisberger, 1910*, p. 90.
[4] *Brinton, 1885*, p. 23.
[5] *Penna. Col. Records*, V. 7, p. 707.

Members of the Nanticoke Indian Community, Sussex County, Delaware. *Upper left,* Nanticoke descendant holding plants formerly used as herbal remedies. *Upper right,* Indian girl with pet. *Lower,* Father and Son.

Contemporary Nanticoke Types

Upper left, Storekeeper; *Upper right,* Nanticoke school girl; *Lower left,* Nanticoke school girl; *Lower right,* Mrs. Elwood Wright. All reside on Indian River, Delaware.

Photos by L. T. Alexander

preserved the bones of their chief Wynicaco in a "*Quioccason House*" for some 70 years.[6]

The term *Quiacason,* variously spelled, appears in other records pertaining to lands occupied by the Eastern Shore Indians, and there is historical evidence that the Assateague, Choptank and Nanticoke all built such houses, or "burial temples," as temporary resting places for the remains of their dead.[7] For example, a delegation of Nanticoke Indians in 1713 complained to the Council of Maryland that a white person had robbed one of their "*Quankosine Houses.*"[8] Marye, in searching old land titles, found a plot of land on the south side of Nanticoke River called *Quinnkeson Neck,* and the further description that it once contained Indian "*Quainkeson Houses.*"[9]

These and other references would indicate that the Nanticoke placed the bones of many of their dead in a specially constructed *Chiacason House,* which apparently was built of logs and contained shelves as a repository for the remains. No doubt it was considered a very sacred structure. The writer infers, based on accounts of a similar practise in other regions, that the bones were first scraped to remove the flesh before being deposited in the temple. The dead person's riches, such as beads, pipes, and ornaments were placed on the shelves with the bones, excellent loot for grave robbers. After a lapse of time, the bones were collected from the *Chiacason House* and reburied in an ossuary with attendant ceremony. This reburial was final, and the bones were not distributed again. The riches of the dead person were probably distributed among his friends and relatives. Thus, in the writer's opinion, the bones carried north by the migrating Nanticoke may have been remains gathered from the *Chiacason Houses,* and not bones that had been taken out of the earth.

The writer admits that it would be difficult to corroborate the above tentative conclusions pertaining to Nanticoke burial customs, but

[6] The notation actually appears in the margin of Murray's communication as follows: "Wynicaco—the last king crowned of the Nanticoke tribe, he died at past 80 years since. His body was preserved and very formally kept in a Quacasun house—chio-ca-son house, 70 years dead." see *Speck, 1927,* p. 41.

[7] *Weslager, 1942 (b)* for a detailed discussion of this burial complex on the Delmarva Peninsula.

[8] *Md. Archives,* XXIX, 229. The complaint was settled by paying the Indians 100 shillings. For references to other white grave robbers, see Weslager, 1945.

[9] *Marye, 1936,* p. 43.

the weight of evidence is in its favor. The basic complex of bone-scraping and reburial in ossuaries is of southern derivation, having been institutionalized among the Choctaw, Natchez, Chickasaw, Creek, Seminole and others, and had spread north to the tribes of the Powhatan Confederacy as well as those occupying the Eastern Shore. Among the southern tribes, the custom was observed by white men.[10]

This ancient mortuary practise was handed down by Indian survivors, with certain modifications, and has been recorded by ethnologists. For example, Adams, Harrington and Speck[11] all learned from Delaware Indian informants of a burial custom practised by the "Wolf Clan" of Delawares living in Oklahoma before 1860. The rite was called the Skeleton Dance. As part of the ceremony, the flesh was stripped from the bones of the deceased and reburied. The bones were then dried at some private place. At the end of twelve days, the skeleton was wrapped in white buckskin and taken to a place prepared for the ceremonial dance. The ritual followed, and when it ended the bones were finally interred. This ceremony was undoubtedly a survival of the earlier bone scraping, temporary burial and final ossuary interment rites. A small group of Nanticoke Indians lived with the Delaware Indians in Kansas prior to the Delawares' final removal to Indian territory, and, in fact, in 1929 six persons of recognized Nanticoke ancestry were still living with the Delawares in Oklahoma. Speck surmises that the Skeleton Dance may have been introduced to the Delawares by the Nanticoke faction they had adopted.

At this late date, one can only speculate in attempting to explain this burial custom which seems so strange to us today. It goes without saying that the Nanticoke must have attached great value to the bones.

[10] *MacLeod, 1928,* presents an excellent discussion of these burial rites, claiming them of southern origin. *Flannery, 1939,* concurs in her listing of Nanticoke traits. *Yarrow, 1879,* discusses the mortuary customs of southeastern tribes, and cites the word "Quigozon" as meaning a charnel house. The early writer Lawson called the burial temples in the Carolinas, Quicasons, see *Willoughby, 1907,* p. 62.

[11] *Adams, 1890; Speck, 1937;* p. 142; *Harrington, 1921,* p. 183; and more recently, *Kinietz, 1946,* p. 113. The latter quotes a Delaware Indian informant as saying that the "Nanticokes were in the habit of placing the body of the deceased upon a scaffold, where it was suffered to remain until the flesh decayed, when the friends and relatives assembled to pay the last duties to the bones. At this time, a dance called the Spirit dance, took place, in which they had the figure of a human being drawn upon a skin which was stretched over a hoop and suspended in the air, etc."

Perhaps they regarded the bones as the seat of the spirit or soul, whereas the flesh was considered as a superficial mortal covering. This would explain why, after death, the useless flesh was promptly removed, whereas the bones were cherished. Presumably it was thought that the spirit remained in the bones only for a certain period of time, and during this period the remains were venerated by keeping them guarded in the sacred burial temple. Then, at the time when the spirit left, a feast or ceremony may have been held to commemorate the occasion when the soul departed for another world. After its departure, the remains were, of course, worthless, and the soulless bones where then consigned to a common burial pit. This would also explain, would it not, why the Nanticoke would not leave behind them the "living" bones of their dead whose spirits still remained near their earth homes? Doubtless this would have been the greatest sacrilege that could have been afflicted on their beloved dead. However, the bones of those whose spirits had lifted, were left behind in their earth graves, and once the spirits had departed from the remains which they transported, these remains were also permanently deposited in the earth, after due ceremony.

* * * * *

Another trait widely ascribed to the Nanticoke was that of proficiency in the use of poisons. Indeed, there have been inferences that the Nanticoke alone of the American Indian tribes were practitioners in the administration of poisons, a supposition that is grossly exaggerated. Plant and animal poisons, in fact, were known to many Indian tribes. In the southeast, fishing was carried on by contaminating the stream with walnut bark and other species of poisonous barks and roots. Poisons for use on arrow points were obtained from both vegetal and animal sources. There is record of wild parsnip being used for conjuration and poisoning; and of the Zuni poisoning spring water with the intention of killing their Spanish enemies.[12]

Among the tribes of Virginia, across the bay from the Nanticoke, poison was also used. Gabriel Archer wrote that one of the Indians gave him a root with which they poisoned their arrows.[13] Captain John Smith recorded an incident of how Opechcancanough, brother to Powhatan, tried to kill the Englishmen by sending them poisoned food.[14]

[12] *Hodge Handbook*, II, 272, under "Poisons."
[13] *Smith*, I, xlviii.
[14] *Op. cit.*, I, 145, II, 462.

However, the most significant allusion to poison by the Virginia tribes occurs in the following excerpt:

> "Since wee finde Opechankanough the last year [1621] had practised with a King on the Eastern Shore to furnish him with a kind of poison, which only growes in his Country, to poison us."[15]

This is a highly significant reference in that it indicates a distinctive botanical poison could be obtained on the Eastern Shore of Chesapeake Bay which did not grow in Virginia. Among the Indians of the Eastern Shore, only the Nanticoke have gone down in history as experts in the nefarious arts of poisoning and sorcery. The missionary Zeisberger was largely responsible for first focusing attention on this Nanticoke trait. He wrote:

"By the Nanticokes the Indians have been instructed in the use of a peculiar kind of poison called *Mattapassignan*,[16] meaning poison. . . They brought knowledge of this poison which carries many evils with it, to the nations [Six Nations] and also to the Delawares. What it is and whereof it is made I am unable to say as I have never seen it, and the descriptions vary. Possibly it is prepared in different ways. It is declared to be capable of infecting whole townships and tribes with disorders as pernicious as the plague. It is said not to be baneful in itself and to receive its power for working injury through witchcraft. With its use the sorcerers are said to be able to remove a person though he may be several hundred miles away. The Delawares have been endeavoring to extirpate this shocking evil. Their efforts extending over two years were in vain, for those possessed of the knowledge of its uses kept the knowledge secret. The Nanticokes who were the wretched inventors of this poison and its arts have nearly destroyed their own nation by it." [17]

In the unpublished Zeisberger diary (see fn 11, Chapter 4) there are two references to poisoning which, because they have not previously appeared in print, bear repetition here.

[15] *Op. cit.*, II, 578.

[16] *Speck, 1922*, p. 14, "The descendants of the tribe today, however, seem to know nothing of the formula which made their ancestors famous among both Indians and Marylanders. To be sure they preserved the knowledge of a good many medicinal plants, but I have not succeeded in getting a legitimate poison formula."

[17] *Zeisberger, 1910*, p. 126.

The first, written in 1769, reads as follows:

"They took over this witchcraft from the Nanticokes because before the latter came to the Susquehanna the Indians did not know anything about it, but now it is spreading among them. They sell it for blood and for money, and those who want to learn it must pay much for it, and it mainly consists of killing each other, as they say without realizing it, for sometimes they destroy a whole town in this matter and clear it out of their way. Thus, if they do not feel kindly toward an Indian town and wish to do it harm, they take this witchcraft on a nearby mountain, put it in a hollow tree-trunk or in a rift in rock and when the wind blows from there in the direction of the town everything becomes contaminated. When the Indians see that there is a plague among them, they leave the town as fast as they can. Sometimes they put something into a spring or creek where they draw their water and poison them. Likewise when they have a grudge against a person and can make the person inhale the smoke, he must die in a few minutes."

Later, under date of Feb. 5, 1770, Zeisberger wrote:

"We had news from the West, from Gekelemukpechunk and Tuscarawi that there is a bad pestilence among the Indians and that many were dying. We hear that even game which approaches these two towns as far as a certain distance is found dead, and the birds in the air are said to fall to earth dead. The Indians attribute this to witchcraft. This is the 'bad' thing which they have taken over from the Nantikoks and which they call Machtapassikan, i.e., the wicked, dangerous medicine with which they work much witchcraft, because they say they can kill a man with it, even if he is a hundred miles away."

Zeisberger also described a bewitching device, namely the Nanticoke "witchball" which was supposedly thrown at one marked to die, but was not lethal to Europeans because they ate salt with their victuals.

Heckewelder added, in his account of the Indians, that not only were the Nanticoke reputed as poisoners, but that some of them were so skilled in witchcraft that they could destroy an entire army by blowing their breath toward it. He said that the Delaware learned witchcraft from the Nanticoke, and that the latter were not unwilling to be rated as wizards because it gave them a reputation with the other Indian tribes.[18]

[18] *Heckewelder, op. cit.*

Although the Nanticoke alone of the Maryland tribes seem to have been recognized by the two missionaries as practitioners in the magic arts, it is clear from the records that other of the Eastern Shore tribes were equally proficient in the art of poison making and its use. We recall the quotation already cited (see p. 80) to the effect that the Eastern Shore Indians had greatly decreased in numbers. One of the causes given was their use of poisons, which apparently was used within the tribes as well as against their enemies. This has already been brought out in connection with the Nanticoke Emperor Unnacokasimmon, allegedly poisoned by his subjects. During the Indian rendezvous in the Pocomoke Swamp in 1742 a "doctor" of the Assateague tribe then settled on Indian River in Delaware was accused of brewing poison in a large pot to be used to poison the wells of the English. Poison had also been applied to the tips of brass arrows to be used against the whites.[19]

The reputation of the Nanticoke for knowledge of poisons and malefic sorcery existed for many generations, and the idea spread west with the migrating Delawares. It was so deeply rooted that as recently as 1937, Dr. Speck was told by a Delaware from Oklahoma how his tribe borrowed witchcraft medicine from the Nanticoke many years before.[20] Further, the *I'dos* company, one of the medicine societies of the Seneca, is said to have been a survival of an older witch society introduced among the Iroquois by the Nanticoke.[21]

By attributing evil practices to the Nanticoke, these tribes seem to have implied an innocence on their part in the invention of such devices. The fact is that the Delawares early in their recorded history were known to have been guilty of both poisoning and witchcraft. Following the spurious Walking Purchase in Pennsylvania, the Delawares poisoned to death one Lappakoo, "an Indian who Against the Minds of the Indians in general had consented to the Walk."[22] Further, in 1756 the Iroquois chief Captain New Castle accused the Delaware of having bewitched him, and threatening they would "put an End to his Life by Witchcraft."[23]

[19] *Md. Archives*, XXVIII, 265-268.

[20] *Speck, 1937*, pp. 135-142. See also *Tantaquidgeon, 1942*, p. 38. *Harrington, 1913*, p. 232, "A tradition still current among the Lenape attributes the origin of witchcraft to the Nanticoke, etc."

[21] *Speck, ibid.;* quoting Parker.

[22] *Wallace, 1945*, p. 99.

[23] *Wallace, op. cit.*, p. 447.

The early writer Lawson commenting on the use of poison by tribes in the Carolinas wrote as follows:

"They are so well versed in Poison that they are often found to poison whole families, nay most of the Town; and which is most to be admired, they will poison a running Spring or Fountain of Water, so that whoever drinks thereof shall infallibly die." [24]

It is the present writer's opinion that, while the Nanticoke were doubtless users of poison, this particular subject has been greatly magnified through exaggeration of other Indians and by perpetuation through white scribes, whose basis for statement was only hearsay. The facts are, as indicated above, that the knowledge and use of poison can be attributed to many American Indian groups.

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[24] *Lawson, 1710.*

The writer calls attention to another recent reference to the Nanticoke as poisoners. According to the deposition of a Delaware named Captain Pipe, the Delawares in Oklahoma believe in witches and wizards "and attribute their powers to the use of certain medicine said to have been procured of the Nanticokes who had it from a naked infant found by them on the Sea Shore," *Kinietz, 1946,* p. 92.

XIV

TRADITIONS AND CULTURAL TRAITS

The question of the origin of the Indian tribes occupying the Atlantic seaboard at the time of the discovery and settlement of America is one whose answers can not be found in documentary sources. The only hope of solving the riddle is through archaeology, but unfortunately eastern archaeology has not yet advanced to the point where the earth has revealed all her secrets. As to the specific origin of the Nanticoke tribe, certain traditional information has been handed down which must be given due consideration.

The missionary Zeisberger obtained the following information from Nanticoke informants:

"The tradition of the Nanticokes is that seven Indians had suddenly seen themselves at the seaside. Whether they had come over the sea or been there created they did not know. Descendants of these Indians peopled the land."[1] The occurrence of the number seven in this myth may have had religious significance, and it is found in other tribal legends in the Americas.[2]

Heckewelder recorded the origin of the Nanticoke as related to him by the Indian Robert White. His account was as follows:

"Every Indian being at liberty to pursue what occupation he pleases, White's ancestors, after the Lenape came into their country, preferred seeking a livelihood by fishing and trapping along the rivers and bays to pursuing wild game in the forest; they therefore detached themselves, and sought the most convenient places for their purpose. In process of time they became very numerous, partly by natural increase, and partly in consequence of being joined by a number of the Lenape, and spread themselves over a large tract of country. Thus they became divided into separate bodies, distinguished by different names; the Canai [Conoy] they say sprung from them, and settled at a distance on the shores of the Potomac and Susquehanna; where they lived when the first white people

[1] *Zeisberger, 1910,* p. 132.
[2] *Brinton, 1885,* p. 139.

first arrived in Virginia; but they removed farther on this account, and settled higher up the Susquehanna not far from where John Harris afterwards established a ferry. The main branch or the Nanticoke proper were then living on what is now called the Eastern Shore of Maryland."[3]

Loskiel, obviously influenced by Heckewelder, gives a similar story of Nanticoke origins.[4] This account has a traditional basis among the Algonkian-speaking Indians of the east who made up a loose federation known collectively as the Wapanchkik, Wapanaki, and other variants of the term, which means "those of the eastern region." All of these "easterners" had a more or less corresponding version of a general migration legend. Among them, the legend of the Lenni Lenape has come down to us in the form of a pictorial record on sticks known as the Walum Olum.[5]

According to the interpretation of the Walum Olum, the Lenape entered the region of eastern Pennsylvania from the west some time before the coming of the white men. The main body continued eastward ultimately reaching the Atlantic slope, and settlements were made along the rivers in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Northern Delaware and New York. No one knows for certain when this migration occurred, but Speck has referred to it as an "event which took place not much anterior to the fourteenth or fifteenth century."[6]

Part 5, line 10, of the Walum Olum reads: "nentegowi shawanowi shawanaking" which is translated as "The Nanticokes and the Shawnees going to the south."[7] This seems to mean that a tribal breakup took place when the Lenape arrived in Pennsylvania, with bands moving southward where they were later to become identified as the Nanticoke and Shawnee.

This concept of a dissolution of the main body of the Lenape is strictly in accord with Robert White's testimony to Heckewelder which has been quoted. It should be noted that White made his deposition many years before the Walum Olum was disclosed to white men. White maintained that his ancestors, the Nanticoke, broke away to seek better

[3] *Heckewelder, 1876,* pp. 90-91.

[4] *Loskiel, 1795,* p. 24.

[5] *Brinton, 1885,* pp. 170-217. For interesting account of the Wapanaki, see *Speck, 1943.*

[6] *Speck, 1922,* p. 1.

[7] *Brinton, op. cit.* p. 205.

fishing and trapping grounds which they readily found on the Delmarva Peninsula. These separatists, in turn, with the passing of time, broke up into smaller bodies who settled on various Eastern Shore streams where they established themselves as separate and independent bands. One of these bands, according to the deposition of the succession of Piscataway emperors, moved over to the western shore where they became known as the Piscataway or Conoy. Although documentary data are lacking to prove that the Ozinies, Tockwhogh, and Wiccomicco, whom Captain Smith visited, and the Choptank, Assateague and other Delmarva tribes were off-shoots of the original Nanticoke migrants, this supposition is not illogical. While this migration from the north was taking place, it might be assumed that another group of Algonkians, closely related to the Powhatan tribes, came into the peninsula from a southern approach. They were to become known as the Accomac and Accohannock.[8]

Linguistically, the Nanticoke, Choptank, Assateague and Conoy appear to have been all closely related to each other as well as to the Lenni Lenape. One can not be positive of the linguistic affiliation of the Ozinies, Tockwhogh and Wiccomicco because none of their vocabularies have been preserved. Nevertheless, since they were obviously of Algonkian stock, it can be inferred that they sprang from a common ancestry.

Both Zeisberger[9] and Heckewelder[10] pointed out that the language of the Nanticoke was very similar to that of the Lenape. Heckewelder added that the Nanticoke referred to the Lenape as "grandfathers," a term of respect and symbolical kinship presumably indicative of an earlier affiliation.

In recent years Speck gathered together from several documentary sources vocabulary notes relating to the Choptank (collected by

[8] *Speck, 1928,* p. 233. "If subsequent archaeological research establishes for this region [Delmarva Peninsula] a relationship closer to the Powhatan than to the Nanticoke northward, it may mean that the Accohannoc and Accomac did not migrate into the lower peninsula from its northern base, but that they crossed Chesapeake Bay near the Virginia capes tracing their expansion directly from the Powhatan with which they remained in touch."

[9] *Zeisberger, 1910,* p. 141.

[10] *Heckewelder, 1876,* p. 122. Reference should be made here to Brinton's essay in which he proved that certain supposed Nanticoke words recorded by the Moravian minister, J. C. Pyrlaeus, were from a Negro dialect specifically Mandingo. *Brinton, 1887.*

Murray), the Nanticoke (collected by Thomas Jefferson), Nanticoke and/or Conoy (collected by Heckewelder), augmented with a list of Nanticoke-Conoy words which he (Speck) obtained from living Indians in Canada. This evidence, in his opinion, when reviewed as a unit definitely points to a similarity with the Lenape, allowing for certain dialectic differences and slight idiomatic differences.[11]

Physically, we have little information about the Nanticoke because of the absence of skeletal remains which can definitely be assigned to the tribe. There are, however, several notes relating to their complexions which must not be overlooked. During the latter part of the 18th century a questonnaire was mailed from the American Philosophical Society to a number of Indian "experts" of the day. Among the 23 questions was the following:

"Which is the darkest and which is the fairest tribe of Indians you are acquainted with?"

Zeisberger's reply to this question, as forwarded by Gottlieb Senseman was as follows:

"Of all the Northern Indian Tribes the Nanticokes are the darkest as to colour, the are the most Southerly, formerly living in Maryland near the Sea Coast, and the Six Nations, viz., Onondagos, Cayugas, Senekes, Oneidoes, Mohawks, Tuscarorars are the fairest to my and all the Missionaries Knowledge."

Heckewelder replied as follows to the question:

"The Nanticokes appear to me to have the darkest complexion of all the tribes I have hitherto been acquainted with."[12]

* * * * *

In interpreting the fragmentary ethnological data pertaining to the Nanticoke obtained from documentary sources, beginning with Captain John Smith, continuing through the scattered sources in the Maryland Archives and the Pennsylvania Records, the writings of the Moravian missionaries, finally augmented by the modern ethnologst, there is evidence to support the following statements.

[11] *Speck, 1927.*

[12] See Mss. Volume relating to Indian Languages, American Philosophical Society Library, Phila., Pa.

Rare photograph of Nanticoke Indian woman Nicey Harmon, born at Indian River Hundred, Delaware about 1845; died in Philadelphia about 1910. She was an affinal aunt of W. R. Clark, late chief of the Nanticoke tribal descendants living in Delaware.

Linguistically, the Nanticoke were of Algonkian stock, closely related to the Conoy and differing dialectically from the Lenape. They entered the Delmarva Peninsula from the north, probably during the late prehistoric period. They were essentially agriculturalists and fishermen, but at certain times of the year practised a communal village hunt.[13] They were expert bead-makers, thus utilizing the marine shell life of their habitat. They made and used wampum belts for ceremonial purposes. They were reputed among other Indians as good traders. They raised corn in substantial quantities, and one surmises that the intensity of the maize complex was associated with such material artifacts as digging sticks, log mortar and pestle, husking pegs, corn husk plaiting, etc. They occupied permanent villages situated on the banks of streams, and lived in rectangular huts with an inside fire. They had built a stockade as a protective device around at least one of their villages. They built log dugout canoes and made splint baskets. They smoked the ceremonial tobacco pipe.

In Nanticoke government, autocratic power was vested in the hands of a great chief, whose right to office was hereditary, presumably on the feminine side, but who was, nevertheless, elected by the members of the tribe. Each village had a lesser chief who was under the authority of the great sachem. In times of war, a war captain was selected to command the braves.

The Nanticoke burial practise apparently consisted of bone scraping and temporary burial in a Chiacason house, with final interment in an ossuary. Poisoning and a familiarity with magic arts was widely attributed to them by other Indians.

To go beyond these very brief, and admittedly superficial remarks, would be sheer speculation unsupportable by any data known to the writer. Since it is not the intention of the ethnologist to indulge in fancy —and in the absence of valid data—we must of necessity await the production of further information, either from obscure historical sources or from archaeological endeavor to fill the missing gaps. Meager

[13] *Mook, 1943 (b)*, p. 120, speaking of the Virginia Indians, "In general one gets the impression from the Relations and from the descriptions of Smith, Strachey and Beverly that the Indians of this area were primarily agriculturalists and secondarily hunters and collectors. This was in contrast to the practise of the Virginia Algonkian's relatives to the north whose physical environmental factors placed the emphasis upon hunting rather than tillage."

though they are, the known data do permit of certain tentative conclusions.

Culturally, the Nanticoke seem to have occupied a position somewhere between the Southeastern Algonkian and the Algonkian tribes of the north, leaning more strongly in the direction of the former in material and social life, if not in language. As Speck pointed out a number of years ago, the Powhatan tribes of Virginia acquired superior social and economic properties from the south, a thesis with which Mook is in complete agreement.[14] Similarly, it seems clear that the Nanticoke were under this southern influence, and were yielding to change when the settlement of Maryland by Europeans imposed a new cultural mantle over them.[15]

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[14] *Mook, 1943 (a)*, p. 38, "Primary cultural affiliation of the Virginia Algonkian to have been with their near-northern neighbors and linguistic relatives the Algonkians of the middle Atlantic States and of Southern New England . . . I believe this relation to have been a genuine genetic one, i.e., the Algonkians of Virginia and of the Delmarvan Peninsula came into these areas from the north . . . In addition to the northern connections there were influences from the south, and the fact of this southern conditioning is incontrovertible."

[15] The belief in a southern influence is held by the writer despite opposite views held by Kroeber (on alleged cultural grounds) and Gerard and Michelson (on alleged linguistic evidence). The writer's opinion coincides with the views of Brinton and Mooney, as well as those of Swanton, Speck and Mook, namely, that the Nanticoke (like the Powhatan tribes) are a cultural composition "consisting of basic substratum Algonkian traits, with an easily recognizable overdeposit of Southeastern influence." *Mook, ibid*, p. 40. See this same source for a summary of the views of Kroeber et al.

XV

THE ARCHAEOLOGIST'S OBJECTIVES

Our last untouched source of information relating to the Nanticoke Indians and their precursors is through archaeology. While this science is still in its infancy on the Delmarva Peninsula, an organization is now in existence—The Archaeological Society of Delaware—under whose auspices certain significant contributions have already been made toward a better understanding of the native tribes of the peninsula. Much yet remains to be discovered, and one can expect that the future will bring to light additional data, especially if close cooperation is maintained with archaeologists working in Pennsylvania.

The writer is unaware of any extensive archaeological excavations having yet been conducted on authenticated Nanticoke sites. I refer to sites lying in the drainage system of the Nanticoke River, the earliest recorded home of the tribe, and to sites in Pennsylvania known to have been occupied by the Nanticoke after leaving their ancestral home. Excavations conducted at various parts in Delaware and Maryland have produced artifacts which have been ascribed to the Nanticoke, but evidence is lacking to prove that the sites had been definitely occupied by them. For example, archaeological work near Cambridge, Maryland, carried on some years ago produced a series of skeletal remains which were loosely identified as Nanticoke.[1] Actually, as shown in earlier chapters, the sites on the Choptank River, of which this was one, were occupied by Choptank Indians and not by the Nanticoke. Bushnell, otherwise a very accurate observer, fell into a like error. Describing shell heaps on the left bank of the Choptank River below Cambridge, he said, "This was the position of a Nanticoke town."[2]

More recent archaeological work on the so-called Slaughter Creek site in Delaware revealed an interesting burial complex which was reported as "presumably Nanticoke." Proof is lacking to indicate positively that the site was occupied by Nanticoke, and since no trait list

[1] *Mercer, 1897; Cope, 1897; Harte, 1897.*

[2] *Bushnell, 1919,* p. 31.

diagnostic of Nanticoke culture has been compiled, one has no tangible support to settle the question of identity.[3]

Archaeological work in Pennsylvania and New York, to the best of the writer's knowledge, has resulted in no discoveries which can definitely be attributed to the historic Nanticoke. Nevertheless, one would surmise that members of the tribe left superficial deposits in the soil marking their transitory occupancy. Moorehead, during his explorations along the Susquehanna River, and Cadzow, during his later excavations, made no discoveries that shed light on the Nanticoke occupancy.[4] Nevertheless, according to Bender, there is a tradition of a Nanticoke burial ground in Lancaster County, and artifacts found on a site known as the "Forks" northeast of the village of Oregon, where Cocalico Creek joins the Conestoga, are reported to have been of Nanticoke manufacture.[5] Such suppositions are open to question, but they may be entirely accurate. Itis not beyond reason to infer that many of the stone artifacts found on sites along the Susquehanna may be of Nanticoke origin. Yet, with our present paucity of information, it would be impossible to segregate them from materials of other tribes, because, as yet, we do not know what type of implements and weapons the Nanticoke used in contradistinction to those used by their neighbors.

It would seem that the only logical starting point in an archaeological approach to a study of Nanticoke history and prehistory is to begin on sites which are known through documentary records to have been occupied at an early period by Nanticoke Indians. Through careful excavation of such sites and examination of the artifacts found thereon, one might arrive at a reasonably complete and accurate tabulation of material culture traits. If such sites prove to have had successive occupations, perhaps a chronology can be worked out which would take us back to a lower and older occupational layer. Once a positive approach has been established through certain identification of what is and what is not Nanticoke on cultural grounds, then this yardstick of measurement can be applied to materials uncovered elsewhere in areas occupied by Nanticoke and non-Nanticoke. In time, then, the pattern can be fitted into the general picture of native life in eastern America. The first and most basic step is to delimit the first studies to sites which, measured by valid historic documentation, are specifically Nanticoke. There can

[3] *Davidson, 1935.*

[4] *Moorehead, 1918; Cadzow, 1936.*

[5] *Bender, 1929;* see map opposite p. 130 for location of supposed Nanticoke site.

be little doubt in the reader's mind at this point that the sites on the banks of the Nanticoke River and its tributaries meet this definition. Here, then, will be the starting point.

As a preliminary step in orienting the problem, the writer and several of his Delaware colleagues have attempted to locate sites in the Nanticoke drainage.[6] Working through historical records, aided by local informants, and relying to a great extent on independent field exploration, some progress has been made, as time and circumstances permitted. The comments that follow will illustrate our general approach and the results of our initial observations.

Throughout the full length of the Nanticoke River drainage, evidences of the former Indian life have been uncovered during farming operations or come to light in banks laved by high waters and rains. The evidence takes the form of potsherds, flakes and chips, shell detritus, stone implements, and occasionally human bones.

More than 100 years ago, the historian Bozman wrote:

"I have been credibly informed that there are still existing at this day, on the north side of the Nanticoke, large remains of an Indian town, answering as nearly as may be to the location of Nantiquacks on Smith's map. Among these remains is a hillock, or a high piece of ground, insulated as it were in the midst of a morass or woody swamp of some considerable extent. On this hillock, which tradition among the whites has been handed down as the burying place of the Indians, is to be found immense quantities of what the white inhabitants call beads, but evidently the Peake and Roenoke of the Indians."[7]

Bozman apparently refers to the area along Chicone Creek set off as the Nanticoke Indian Reservation by Maryland. Even today, this region is locally known as "Indian Town." Within the bounds of the former reservation, we have found many surface indications of Indian occupancy in the plowed fields. Tradition is strong among present day farmers that Nanticoke Indian towns were formerly situated here, and indeed the historical records confirm this belief.

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[6] Those who have assisted in the field trips were: Seal Brooks, L. T. Alexander, W. T. Hurst, Allen Baker, H. Geiger Omwake, and H. Geiger Omwake, Jr. Acknowledgement is also made to Mr. Lundy of Sharptown for making available the use of his power boat.

[7] *Bozman, 1837,* 122 n.

From our observations, we believe that Laurel, Delaware, was founded on the site of a Nanticoke village, and near Bethel, Delaware, there is evidence of another village. At Sharptown, Maryland, all along the river shore, archaeological remains of the former Nanticoke occupation may be observed. Doubtless the town is built immediately on the Indian village. We conducted preliminary test digging at Cherry Beach, on property known as the "old Sharptown shipyard" and uncovered large quantities of broken pottery, shell refuse and animal bone. Stone materials seemed to be extremely rare.

At Riverton, Indian artifacts have been uncovered, and local informants told us of Indian skeletons that had been unearthed recently during commercial digging operations.

We explored Marshy Hope Creek partially by foot and partially by boat from its mouth to the town of Eldorado. At the former settlement, indications of a former occupation are very extensive, covering many acres. At the town of Brookview and on cultivated fields at Walnut Landing and on Red Bank we also found surface indications in the form of potsherds, old shells, chips, and fire-cracked stones. A few arrowheads were picked up from the surface, but stone implements in this area are not as plentiful as in the northern part of the peninsula. The absence of natural stone deposits in this flat, sandy terrain is the probable explanation of the scarcity of lithic artifacts. It should be remarked that when a stone implement is found, it usually represents high quality workmanship.

We explored the shores of Barren Creek from its confluence with the Nanticoke to the town of Mardella Springs. An almost continuous occupation follows the fastland along the stream. This is the region known in early history as "Puckamee," which was occupied by the Nanticoke. Today, it bears the name of "Hellbury Neck." Along this stream, we are informed that traditionally there is a Nanticoke burial ground on the Glenn Catlin Farm. On the James Eversman Farm, we were shown an excellent grooved axe, two celts, and several arrowheads which had been plowed up. On the Hochmuth Farm, two celts and a few arrowheads had been found by the owner. On the William Majors' Farm, one cleared field has been known traditionally in the family for three generations as the site of a "Nanticoke camp." Artifacts of various types have been plowed up in this field during past years. On the Ware Eversman Farm, there is tradition that the Nanticoke Indians had a hut in one of the fields bordering the marsh. We explored

the field, which was in cultivation, to find a dozen or more potsherds and several broken arrowheads and hammerstones.

On the opposite shore of Barren Creek, at Hunger Neck on the John Wright Farm, we also located a site where surface indications were abundant.

These explorations merely served to indicate that there are numerous Nanticoke sites which have not been obliterated and which could readily be excavated. There is no question that further field work would result in the finding of many more sites. For example, time did not permit reconnaissance in the lower stretches of the river near the Chesapeake. The writer has already described some of the shell heaps found along the shores of the Chesapeake [8] and is of the opinion that similar heaps could be found near the mouth of the Nanticoke River.

Even this very superficial field work has been productive of information that was not previously known. We have definitely confirmed the fact of the paucity of stone artifacts in the Nanticoke material culture as contrasted with the abundance of pottery. We have learned that one of the principal requisites of a site is its accessibility to the water. Even today, landing places along the Nanticoke River, the Marshy Hope and Chicone—just to mention a few of the tributaries—are not easy to find. The shores in most cases are level with the stream and are bordered by unapproachable marshes. One would travel long distances in a canoe, for example, before finding a suitable place to make a landing. These landing places were even more important to the Nanticokes, who traveled by boat, and such landings characterized all of their villages and towns. As one travels along the river today he learns that at each of the points where he can make a boat landing on fastland there are surface indications of aboriginal life.

As a result of our researches to date we have found many archaeological specimens which can be attributed to Nanticoke artisans, and we have examined several local collections of representative artifacts. Nevertheless, it would be premature to attempt to draw any comparisons or even to hazard tentative conclusions based on the typology of the artifacts. This is a task for the future. We must look to the archaeologist to reconstruct the story of the Nanticoke past by careful and thorough investigation in the land where the members of the tribe lived and died.

[8] *Weslager, 1941.*

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APPENDIX

IMPORTANT NANTICOKE TREATIES, CONFERENCES AND ALLOTMENTS

NANTICOKE RESERVATION (Chicacoan)

June 25, 1684 [1]

Whereas his Ldp the Rt honble the Lord Propey hath this Day in Councill been humbly moved and besought in behalf of the neighboring and confederate friend Indians under the Subjection of the Emperor of Nantecoke to lay out and ascertaine for the said Emperor and his Subjects a convenient tract or portion of Land upon the River of Nantecoke in and about the place where they are at present seated and reside, to the end that their bounds being once sett forth and Assigned them, neither they nor the English Inhabitants thereabouts may incroach one upon another; but that they may live and inhabit together unmolested and undisturbed: etc. etc. . . . Appoints Colonel William Stevens and others with Christopher Nutter interpreter . . . to survey and lay out land in the name, and to the use and [?] of the said Indians and their posterity a convenient tract or portion of land on the sd River of Nanticoke as they in their discretion shall see fit and requisite for the satisfaction ease and benefit of those Indians; and as little prejudiciall as possibly may be to the English Inhabitants in those parts, or else where within this Province And the above proceedings to certifie under their hands into his Ldsps Councill at the City of St. Maries with all convenient speed. To the end that due Record may be thereof made, and that their [?] and bounds being certained and assigned, they may freely, quietly and peaceable have, hold, occupy possess and enjoy the same [?] and undisturbed inor by reason of Incorachments of any the English Inhabitants or others within the Province, June 25, 1684.

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[1] *Warrants-liber C. B.* 1683-1843—*Council Book for Lands*, p. 90.

NANTICOKE RESERVATION (Chicacoan)

October 20, 1698 [2]

"An Act for Ascertaining the bounds of a Certain Tract of land to the use of the Nanticoke Indians so long as they shall occupy and live upon same.

It being most Just that the Indians the Ancient Inhabitants of this Province should have a Convenient Dwelling place in this their native Country ffree from the incroachments and oppressions of the English, more Especially the Nanticoke Indians in Dorchester County, who for these many years have lived in peace and quiet with the English and in all matters in Obedience to the Government of this Province, we the Burgesses & Delegates of this present General Assembly therefore do pray that it may be Enacted, And be it Enacted by the Kings most Excellent Maty by and with the Advice and Consent of this present General Assembly, and with the Authority of the same that all the Land lying and being in Dorchester County and on the North Side of Nanticoke River Butted and Bounded as followeth:

Beginning att the mouth of Chickacoan Creek and running up the said Creek bounded therewith to the head of the main branch of the same and from the head of the said Main Branch with a line drawn to the head of a Branch issueing out of the Northwest fork of Nanticoke known by the name of Francis Anderton's Branch, and from the head of the said branch down the said Anderton's Branch bounded therewith to the mouth of the same where it falls into the said Northwest fork and from thence down the said Northwest fork, bounded therewith to the main River and so down the Main River to the mouth of the aforesaid Chickacoan Creek, shall be unto Panquas and Annatoughquan and to the people under their Government or Charge and their heires and successors for ever, any Law Usage Custom or Grant to the Contrary in any wise Notwithstanding, to be held of the Lord propry and his heires Lords Proprietors or Lords Proprietors of this Province under the Yearly rent of one Beaver Skin to be paid to his said Lordship and his heires as other Rents in this Province by the English used to be paid, Provided allways That it shall and may be Lawfull for any person or persons that hath formerly taken up and Obteined any Grants from the Lorde Baltimore for any Tracts or parcells of Land within the aforesaid Boundarys upon the Indians deserting or leaving the said land to Enter, Occupy or Enjoy the same anything in this Law to the Contrary Notwithstanding.

And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid that it may not nor shall be Lawfull for the Lord Baltemore to ask, have or Demand

[2] *Maryland Archives*, XXII, 278.

any Rents or Services for any of the said Tracts or Dividends as may or hath been taken up as aforesd within the said Indian Boundarys untill such time that takers up or Owners as aforesaid do enjoy or possess the same any Law usage or Custom to the Contrary notwithstanding.

NANTICOKE RESERVATION (Broad Creek)

November 3, 1711[3]

At a Session of Assembly begun and held at the City of Annapolis in the County of Ann Arundel, the 3rd day of November in the 10th Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lady Ann Queen of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc. Annoq. Domini 1711, were enacted the following Laws.

Edward Lloyd, Esq. President

An Act to impower Commissioners to appoint and cause to be laid out Three Thousand Acres of Land, on Broad Creek in Somerset County, for the Use of the Nanticoke Indians, so long as they shall occupy the same

Whereas it is represented to this present Assembly, That the Land formerly laid out for the Use of the Nanticoke Indians is now much worn out, and not sufficient for them; And that it is thought adviseable that some further Provision be made for them;

II. Be it Enacted, by the Queen's most excellent Majesty by and with the Advice and Consent of her Majesty's President, Council, and Assembly of this Province, and the Authority of the same, That Lieut. Col. George Gale, Mrs. Samuel Worthington, Capt. Charles Ballard, and Mr. Benjamin Wales be, and are hereby appointed Commissioners, to cause Three Thousand Acres of Land to be laid out where the said Indians are now settled, in Somerset County, on Broad Creek, in Nanticoke River, and the same appoint to the Use of said Indians, for so long as they shall occupy the same. And further, to cause such Land to be valued in such Manner as is herein after expressed; That is to say, The said Commissioners, or any Three of them, shall, some Time before the Twenty-fifth Day of March next, meet together, and make out their Warrant to the Sheriff of Somerset County, which said Sheriff is hereby required upon Receipt of such Warrant, to impanel and return a Jury of the most Substantial Freeholders of the said County, to be and appear before the said Commissioners, upon the said Land, at the Time in such warrant appointed; which Jury upon their Oaths, to be to them

[3] *Maryland Archives*, XXIX, 77-78.

administered by the said Commissioners, or any Three of them, shall inquire, assess, and return what Damages and Recompence they shall think fit to be awarded to the Owners of such Land, and all Persons interested therein, according to their several and respective Interests: And what Sum of Tobacco the said Jury shall adjudge the said Land to be worth shall be paid to the Owners, and all Persons interested therein by the Public of this Province.

III. And to the End that the Bounds of the said Land may be ascertained, and the Commissioners aforesaid, and Jury, the better enabled to judge of the true Value thereof, the said Commissioners are hereby impowered to employ the Surveyor of the County aforesaid, or some other skilful Person, in their Presence, to survey, lay out, and bound the same, which said Lines, so as aforesaid laid out, shall be marked on trees, or other Land-Marks to perpetuate the Bounds thereof: The said Commissioners to return fair Certificates of their Proceedings to the Clerks of the Provincial Court, and Somerset County Court, for the Time being, to be by them Recorded in the said respective Courts.

IV. And be it Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That when such Land is laid out and paid for by the Public as aforesaid, the Property thereof shll, by virtue of this Act, be vested in the Honourable Colonel Thomas Ennalls and Liuet. Col. George Gale and their Heirs, to and for the Use of the said Indians, so long as they shall occupy the same; and afterwards shall be disposed of as the General Assembly of this Province shall direct.

V. And that such Laying out, and Payment as aforesaid, and this Act, shall for ever bar the Heir or Heirs at Law or his or their Assigns, or any other Person whatsoever, of the Reversion or Remainder, Right, Claim, or Demand whatsoever, of, in, or to the said Land, or any Part or Parcel thereof; any Law, Statute, Usage or Custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

Reverdy Ghiselin
Thomas Bacon

[See next page for description of the reservation as actually laid out, and the damages awarded to the whites who then owned the property]

NANTICOKE RESERVATION (Broad Creek)

December 15, 1711[4]

Somerset County in Maryland—Whereas by an act of Assembly past at a Generall Assembly begunn and held at Annapolis the 23d day of 8br last Impowering us the under subscribers Geo: Gale, Sam:[11] Worthington

[4] *Maryland Provincial Court Proceedings*, Liber T. P. No. 4, 1709-1719, folio 110.

Charles Ballard & Benja Wailes as Commissioners to Cause three thousand acres of Land to be Laid out for the use of the Nanticoke Indians for so Long as they shall Occupy ye same, and further to cause such Lands to be Vallued by a Jury of substantial ffreeholders—wee do hereby Certifie that on and about the fourteenth day of December Anno Dom one thousand seven hundred & eleven we did Cause Mr Wm. Whittington Jun.r Surveyr to Lay out for the said Indians twenty five hundred acres of Land on the north side of Broad Creek being a tract of land called Greenland bounded as followeth Beginning at a marked Holly tree standing near the wadeing place of Broad Creek thence running down the said Creeke bounded therewith north seventy one degrs and thirty minutes west seven hundred and sixty six pole to a marked spanish oake on the east side of a small creek called Whale Creek, thence north east five hundred and ninety pole to a marked white oake, thence east and by south three hundred and sixty two Pole to a marked white Oake, thence south twenty six degrees easterly six hundred and forty five pole to the main Branch of the afd Broad Creek thence down ye said branch and bounded th [erewith b] y a streight Line to the first bounder containing and laid [out for] two thousand five hundred acres —And wee do farther [certifie ?] that we did cause Mr Wm Whittington to Lay out for the use of the said Indians on the south side of Broad Creek five hundred acres of Land and bounded as followeth

Beginning at a marked white oake standing on the south side of broad Creeke a Little above the wadeing place of the said Creeke thence down the said Creek and bounded therewith ..... [words illegible] north sixty three degrees west fifty pole thence north nineteen degrees west twenty six pole thence north seventy eight degrees west twenty eight pole thence south forty two degrees west fifty pole thence west ninety pole thence north fifty two degrees west one hundred and forty pole, thence south west fifty pole to the mouth of (a) Creek called Little Creek, thence up the said Little Creek bounded therewth vitz southeast by south twenty Pole, thence south sixty one degrees east seventy six pole, thence south thirty six degrees east twenty four pole, thence south east and by west one hundred & ten pole, thence south east and by south fifty eight pole, thence south and by west forty Pole thence south fifty degrees east fifty four Pole thence south eighteen degrees east one hundred & sixty six pole, thence south fourteen degrees west sixty pole, thence south by east sixteen pole, thence south twenty nine degrees west forty pole to a white oak standing at the head of the afd Little Creek, thence south east one hundred and two pole to a marked white oak thence with a Right Line to the first bounder Containing and Laid out for five hundred acres ..... Dec., 1711.

Jury awards damages to owners of land as follows:
To the owners of Greenland, 2500 acres, lying on the north side of Broad Creek, being the reputed land of Wm. Green senr 50000 lbs tobacco.
To the owners of 130 acres part of a tract of land called Batchellors

Delight lying on the south side of Broad Creek near the Wadeing Place, 2660 lbs. tobacco.
And we the aforesaid Jurors do award unto the true owner or owners of three hundred sixty seven acres of Land lying on the south side of broad Creek now laid out for the Indians the sum of seven thousand three hundred and thirty four pounds of tobacco and we the abovesaid Jurors do award unto Henry Freaks for Damages in building clearing and fencing on the said Land now laid out for the Indians the sum of three thousand pounds of tobacco To Wm. Denston Junr for his damages for work and preparing to build and settle on the Land now laid out for the Indians—500 lbs tobacco.

TREATY OF PEACE

Treaty with Nanticoke Indians, *May 1, 1668* [5]

> Articles of Peace & Amity Concluded & agreed upon between the Rt. honoble Caecilius absolute lord & Proprietary of the provinces of Maryland and Avalon lord Baron of Baltemore & Vnnacokasimmon Emperor of Nantecoke the first Day of May One thowsand sixe hundred sixty and Eight—

Itt is agreed upon that from this Day forward there be an Invioable peace & Amity Between the Rt Honorable the lord Proprietary of this province and the Emperor of Nantecoke upon the Articles hereãfter in this Treaty to be agreed upon to the worlds end to Endure & that all former Acts of Hostility & Damage whatsoevr by either party susteyned be buried in perpetuall Oblivion.

2d That the said Emperor of Nanticoake shall delivr up the whole nacon of Wiccomisses and all those Indians that protected the Murderers of Capt Odberr that lived at Sicacone Towne to the honoble the Governour of this Province. And further that if any Indian Subject to the said Emperour shall hereafter chance to Kill an English man that the sd Emperor shalbe Obliged to delivr such Indian up to the Governour of this Province as a prisoner.

3d Forasmuch as the English cannot easily distinguish one Indian from a Nother that noe Indian shall come into any English plantacon paynted & that all the Indians shall be bound to call aloud before they come within Three hundred paces of any English manns cleere Ground and lay downe their Armes whether Gunn Bowes or Arrowes or other weapom for any English man tht shall appeare upon his call to take upp & in case noe one appeare that he shall there leave his said endeavour to give notice to the English of his neerer Approach And if any English

[5] *Maryland Archives*, V, 29-30.

mann shall Kill any Indian that shall come unpainted & give such notice & Delivr up his Armes as aforesd he shall dye for itt as well as an Indian that kills an English & in case the English & Indians meete in the woods accidentally every Indian shall be bound immediately to throw downe his Armes upon call & in case any Indian soe meeting an English man shall refuse to throw downe his armes upon call he shall be deemed as an Enemy.

41y The Priveledge of Hunting crabbing and fowling and fishing shall be preserved to the Indians Invioably.

5ly That every Indian that Killeth or stealeth a hogg calfe or other Beast or any other goods shall under goe the same punishmt that an English man doth for the same Offence.

6ly In case any servts or Slaves runn a way from their Masters & come to any of the Indian Townes within the Territories of Vnnacokasimmon and his Subjects they shall be bound to apprehend the said ffugitives and bring them to the next English plantacon to be Conveyed to their Masters and in case any Indian aforesaid shall convey or assist any such ffugitives in their fflight out of this province that he shall make their respective Master or Misteris of such servants of Slaves such satisfaccon as an English man ought to doe in the like case.

7ly That the said Emperor shall not make any new Peace with our Enemyes nor shall make any warr with out the consent of the Right Honble the Lord Proprietary or his cheife Governour for the tyme being.

8thly In case the said Vnnakasimmon or any Indian Subject to him shall kill a Babco or any of his Indians or any other in Peace and Amety wth the said Lord Proprietary shall be Esteemed as great an Offence as Killing of an Englishman:

The marke of

+

Vnnacokasimmon

Signed

In Presence of Philip Calvert

TREATY OF PEACE

Treaty with Nanticoke Indians—*March 28, 1678* [6]

Then was the Articles of Agreement made by his Lordship and Unnacocassimon late Empr of the Nanticokes confirmed bv their Honrs. and Ahopperoon with the addition of an Article that if any Indian

[6] *Maryland Archives*, V, 558-559.

commits an offence against the English he should be tryed by the English law and if an English man commit an offence against an Indian he should be tryed by the same law the which Instructions follow in these words viz:

Maryland ss. Articles of Peace and amity which were concluded and agreed upon between the Rt honble Charles absolute Lord and Proprietary of this Province &c and Umacocassimon Empr of Nanticoke the 28th of March 1678 Are now this 19th day of Septr 1687 confirmed and continued to be held inviolable between the Honble the Deputyes Lieuts for and on behalf of the said Lord Proprietary and Ahopperoon elected and chosen by the great men of Nanticoke to treat with the said Deputyes Lieuts the which are as followeth viz:

Imprs It is agreed upon that from this day forward there be inviolable Peace and Amity between the Rt Honble the Lord Prpry of this Province and the Empr of Nanticoke upon the Articles hereafter in this treaty to be agreed upon to the worlds end to endure and that all former Acts of hostility and damage whatsoever by either party susteined be buried in perpetuall oblivion.

2: That the Empr of Nanticoke shall deliver up all Indians that shall come into his Dominion that are or shall be enemies to the English and further that if any Indian subject to the said Empr shall hereafter kill an English man that the said Empr shall be obliged to deliver such Indian up to the Governour of this Province as a Prisoner.

3: Forasmuch as the English cannot easily distinguish one Indian from another, that noe Indian shall come into any English Plantation Painted and that all the Indians shall be bound to call aloud before they come within 300 paces of any Englishman's cleered ground and lay down their Armes whether Gun, Bowes or Arrows or other weapons for any English man who shall appear upon his call to take up and in case that noe one appeared that he shall there leave his said Armes if he come nearer and that afterwards by calling aloud endeavour to give notice to the English of his nearer approach. And if any Englishman shall kill any Indian that shall come up painted and give such notice and deliver up his armes as aforesaid he shall dye for it as well as an Indian that kills an English man and in case the English and Indians meet in the woods accidentally every Indian shall be bound immediately to throw down his Armes upon call and in case any Indian soe meeting an Englishman shall refuse to throw down his Armes upon call he shall be deemed as an Enemy.

4: The Priviledge of hunting, crabbing, fowling and fishing shall be preserved to the Indians inviolable.

5: That every Indian that killeth or stealeth any Hogg or Calf or other beast or any other goods shall undergoe the same punishment that an Englishman doth for the same offence.

6: In case any servants or slaves run away from their Masters or children from their Parents and come to any of the Indian townes within the Territorys of Ahopperoom and his subjects they be bound to apprehend the said fugitives and bring them to the next English Plantation to be conveyed to their Masters and in case any Indian aforesaid shall convey or assist any such fugitives in their flight out of this Province that he shall make their respective Master or Mistress of such servant or slave such satisfaction as an Englishman ought to doe in the like case.

7: That the Empr shall not make any new Peace with our Enemies nor shall any warr without the consent of the Rt Honble the Lord Proprietary for the time being.

8: In case the said Ahopperoon or any Indian subject to him shall kill Ababcoe or any of his Indians or any other in Peace and Amity with the said Lord Proprietary shall be esteemed as great an offence as killing an Englishman.

9: That in case any Indian or Indians of any other Nation or Nations shall come within his Dominion or Territory and shall by him or other Indians under him be entertained and that of them the said Indians shall kill any English or kill or destroy any hogges, Cattle or horses, or shall break up any English mans house and steal his or their goods that the said Ahopperoon shall be responsible for the same and in case hereafter he shall have knowledge of any murder that killed David Williams or any of his family that he shall be thereby engaged to deliver him up to Mr. Thomas Walker or any other Magistrate to be by them conveyed to the Governor as soon as found.

10: That Ahopperoon shall pay yearely to the use of the Lord Proprietary four Indian arrowes every yeare on the 20th day of October to Mr. Hutchine as an acknowledgment to his Lordsp and as a token of the continuance of the Peace.

Lastly. It is further agreed that in case any Indian comitts any offence against the English that they shall be tryed by the English and punished according to the English law and if in case any Englishman comits any offence against the Indians, in like manner shall be punished according to the same.

Ahopperoon marke Empr

Nanticoke + his

Their Honrs the Deputyes then presented the aforesaid Emp: with a laced Coat a shirt and hatt the which he very thankfully accepted, and with great satisfaction the Indians then departed and took their leaves of their Honrs.

TREATY OF PEACE

TREATY WITH NANTICOKE INDIANS—*May 1, 1693* [7]

Articles of peace & Amity Indented concluded & agreed upon the first Day of May Anno Dom 1693 In the fifth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord & Lady Wm & Mary by the Grace of God King & Queen of England Scotland France & Ireland Defenders of the Faith &ca By and Between his Excellency Lionel Copley Esq Capt General & Governor in Chief in & over this their Majestys Province & Territory of Maryland for & in behalf of their said Majstys & all other their Majestys Collonies, Provinces & territorys in America of the one part & Panquas Commander in chief of the Nation of Indians called the Nantecoke Indians & Annoughtoughk his Assistant in the Government of the said Nation thereunto hereby Especially Authorized Commissionated & appointed for & in the name & behalf of themselves & the whole nation of the said Indians as follows (vizt)

Imprs Whereas Asquas, the Son of Unnacokasimmon deceased, the Emperor of Nantecoke and Elected to Succeed his Father in the Empire & Government of the said Indians, being an Enemy to their Sacred Majestys & this their Government, hath peremptorily refused & denied to renew & Confirm the League formerly made with the said Emperor or to enter into a new one with their said Majestys as others in the Neighboring Nations of Indians their Friends & Allies have done, it is therefore hereby absolutely agreed resolved & Concluded on that the said Asquas be from henceforth wholly acquitted dismissed & discharged from his Government or command of the said Indians & from having or exercisg any jurisdiction Superiority power of Authority whatsoever over them & that the aforesaid Indian Panquas be & he is hereby nominated ordained constituted & appointed Captain General & Commander in chief in & over the said Nation of Indians & that the said Annoughtoughk be & he is hereby constituted & appointed his Second and Assistant in the Rule Government & Command of the said Indians the same being hereby Committed to them the said Panquas & Annoughtoughk jointly & severally firmly be these Presents

2 It is then further agreed upon that from this day forward there be an inviolable peace & amity between their most serene Majestys King William & Queen Mary afd and the said Panquas & Annoughtoughk Commander in Chief & Governor of the Nantecoke Indians upon the Articles hereafter mentioned to the worlds end to endure, & that all former Acts of Hostility & Damages whatsoever by either party sustained be buried in perpetual oblivion.

3 That the said Indians of Choptank or of any other Nation now lately gathered together among them & harboured by them shall & do

[7] *Maryland Archives*, VIII, 533-536.

at the Finishing & gathering in of this present Crop by them planted retire & Withdraw to their several & respective Towns & places of habitation & that in the mean time & always hereafter both they & the said Nantecoke Indians shall well & Sufficiently fence in & secure the Cornfields by them now already or hereafter to be planted seven or Eight logs high at the least.

Clauses 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 9 of the treaty are substantially the same as those in the previous treaties. The concluding paragraph, which is different is quoted below:

That they the said Panquas and Annoughtoughk or either of them shall pay yearly to the use of their Majestys their heirs and Successors every year on the Twentieth day of April to Coll Charles Hutchins four Indian arrows and two bows to be delivered to his Excellency the Governor of this Province for the time being as a tribute or acknowledgment to their Majestys and as a token of the Continuance of peace

Panquas X his Mark

Annatoughought X his mark

At the signing & passing of the foregoing Articles were presents delivered to the Indians vizt two Matchcoats & 4 pair Worsted Stocking & to each of the great men one of the Kings Guns

TREATY OF PEACE

Treaty with Nanticoke Indians— *May 18, 1705* [8]

Came Panquash & Annotoughk on behalf of Ashquash Emperour of the Nanticoke Indians

Winnoughquarquo [Wynicaco] King of the Babcos & Ahatchwoops [Choptank bands] Robin Indian Chief of the Indian River Indians [Assateague] on behalf of his Queen Wyranfoonmickonous Queen of the said Indians and desired to Enter into Articles of Alliance with her most Sacred Maty the Queen of Great Britain France and Ireland and the said Articles being Mutually Concluded on as followeth were interchangeably Signed & Sealed Viz.

[8] *Maryland Archives*, XXVI, 442-444.

Articles of Peace and Amity concluded and agreed upon the 19th day of May 1705 in the fourth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lady Anne by the Grace of God of England Scotland France and Ireland Queen Defender of the Faith &c By & Between his Exncy John Seymour Esqr Capt Generall & Governour in Chief in and over this her Matys Province of Maryland the Lands Islands and Territorys thereto belonging &c. for and on behalf of her said Matys Queen of England all her Subjects as well in this as all other Matys Provinces Collonys and Territorys in America, & Panquash & Annoughtoughk Great men particularly appointed for and on behalfe of Asquash Emperour of the Nanticoke Indians & his Indians as followeth.

Imprimis. The Said Panquash and Annoughtoughk on behalf of the said Asquash do desire he may be Received & Acknowledged as Emperour of the Nanticoke Indians to which his Exncy the Governour and Councill is pleased to agree and Accordingly Condescends to treat with the said Panquash and Annoughtoughk as his Commisioners.

2. It is further agreed upon that from this day forward there be an Inviolable Peace & Amity between her most Sacred Matys Queen Ann and the said Ashquash Emperour of the Nanticoke Indians upon these Articles hereafter mencon'd to Endure to the World's End and that all former Acts of Hostility and damages whatsoever by either party Sustained be buried in perpetual Oblivion.

3. That for preventing Differences between the Indians & English the said Emperour Asquash and his Indians shall Sufficiently ffence in their Corn fields which already are or hereafter shall be planted by the said Indians at least Seaven or eight Loggs high.

[Sections 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11 of this Treaty relate to delivering up any Indians that commit crimes against the English; delivering up runaway slaves, etc. These sections are essentially the same as those in the treaties of May 1, 1668 and March 28, 1678. The final section, however, is different and is given below complete.]

12. That the said Ashquash shall pay Yearly to the use of her Majesty her heirs & Successors every Year on the Twentieth day of Aprill to Col Thomas Ennalls four Indian Arrows and two Bows to be delivered to his Exncy the Governour of this Province for the time being as a Tribute or Acknowledgment to her Maty and as a Token of the Continuance of this Peace.

The like Articles were Signed & Sealed by his Exncy on behalf of her Maty on the one part and Winnoughquarquo King of the Babcoes and Ahatchwopps on behalf of his Indians on the other; as also between his said Exncy & Robin Indian on behalf of Wyranfconnickonous Queen of the Indian River Indians on the other part.

TREATY OF PEACE

TREATY WITH BAND OF NANTICOKE INDIANS LIVING ON BROAD CREEK, NEAR PRESENT LAUREL, DELAWARE—*July 24, 1742*[9]

Articles of Peace and Amity Concluded and Agreed upon Between the Right Honourable Charles Absolute Lord and Proprietary of the Province of Maryland &c and Simon and Captain John Indians on behalf of themselves and Indians under their Subjection this 24th day of July 1742

[Note: On the same date an almost identical treaty was negotiated with the Nanticoke living at the Chicacoan Town on Nanticoke River through their leaders, John Coursey and Chinehopper.]

Imprs It is agreed that from this day forward to the Worlds end there shall be an Inviolable peace and amity between the Right Honourable the Lord Proprietary of this Province and the Chiefs of Broad Creek Indian Towns upon Articles hereafter in this Treaty agreed upon and that all former Acts of Hostility and Damages Whatsoever Sustained shall be buried in perpetual Oblivion.

2 dly That if any Indian or Indian Subject to the said Chiefs shall hereafter Assault, beat or kill an Englishman or Plot or Conspire to make War with the English Inhabitants the said Chiefs shall be Obliged to deliver such Indians up to the Governor of this Province to suffer as the English should do for the Like Offence.

3 dly For as much as the English Cannot Easily distinguish one Indian from another that no Indian shall Come into any English Plantation painted and that all the Indians shall be bound to call aloud before they Come within One Hundred Paces of any Englishmans clear Ground and lay down their Arms whether Guns Bows and Arrows or other Weapons and move a Distance from them that any English man that shall appear upon their call may take them up and in Case that no one appears that they shall leave their said Arms if they Come nearer and afterwards call aloud to give notice to the English of their nearer Approach and if any Englishman shall kill an Indian that shall Come unpainted and give Notice and Deliver up his Arms as aforesaid he shall dye for it as well as an Indian that shall kill an English man and in case the Indians and English meet Accidentally in the woods every Indian shall be bound immediately to throw down his Arms and upon call and move from them and if an Indian meeting an Englishman shall refuse to throw down his arms upon call as aforesaid she shall be deemed an Enemy and treated as such.

4thly That the said Chiefs shall never Join with the Chicacoan Indians in the Choice of an Emperour or Chief to be Subject in any man-

[9] *Maryland Archives*, XXVIII 587-589.

ner to them nor shall they Suffer an Indian Subject to them to carry a Gun without License from his Excellency the Governor of Maryland and if any Indian shall be found with a Gun without such License he shall forfeit his Gun and be Treated as an Enemy.

5thly The priviledge of Crabbing fowling Hunting and fishing shall be preserved to the Indians Inviolably

6thly That every Indian that killeth or stealeth an hog Calf or other Beast or any other Goods shall undergoe the Same punishment that an English doth for the Like Offence

7thly If any Servants or Slaves Running from their Masters to any of the Indian Towns within the Territories of the said Chiefs and their subjects shall be bound to Apprehend the said Fugitives and Convey them to the next English Plantation to be carried to their Masters and if any Indian aforesaid shall Convey or Assist any such Fugitives in their Flight out of this province he shall make the Respective Master or Mistress of such Servants or Slaves Such Satisfaction as an English man ought to do in the Like Case.

8thly that the said Chiefs shall not make any Peace with our Enemies nor shall make their War without the Consent of the Governor of this province for the Time being and if they or any of their Subjects Shall kill or hurt Jamy Small Hominy [a Choptank who informed the English of the Indian plot] or any Indian who hath Lately Confessed a Conspiracy against the English the Guilty person or persons shall be delivered to be punished with Death.

9thly That if the said Chiefs or any Indians Subject to them shall kill any Indians or any other in Peace and Amity with the Lord Proprietary it shall be Esteemed as great an offence as killing an Englishman

10thly That neither the said Chiefs or any of the Indians under their Subjection shall at any time hereafter keep or entertain among them or within their Fort any Foreign or Strange Indian or know or discover any such to appear or come into this Province without giving immediate notice thereof to his Excellency the Governor or Some Colo. or Magistrate of note by whom the same may be Communicated with all Expedition to the Governor of this province for the Time being for his Directions therein and if such strange Indian shall endeavor to induce them to Destroy the White people or do any mischief that shall apprehend and Deliver such strange Indian to the English

11thly That if any Disputes shall arise between the said Chiefs or their Subjects and any other Indian Nation in Maryland that they cannot settle between themselves it shall be referred to the Governor and Council

12thly That the English and Indians shall hereafter be as one people & shall Assist each other against all persons Whatsoever that shall make War with or Attack either of them and if either shall hear that any

Persons intend to Damage the Other, Notice shall be immediately Given of the Danger.

13thly That as a farther Testimony and League Peace and Friendship with his Lordship the Lord Proprietary of this Province and as they Expect Protection from him and his Government here the said Indian Chiefs and their Successors shall pay and Deliver to the Colo of Somerset County for the Lord Proprietarry his heirs and Successors two Bows and two Dozen of Arrows Yearly upon the Tenth day of October as an Acknowledgment of his Lordships Dominion over them and as a Pledge of peace also

In Confirmation whereof his Excellency Samuel Ogle Esqr Governor in Chief of the Province afsd on behalf of his said Lordship and Simon and Captain John on behalf of themselves and the Indians under their Subjection have Signed hereto in presence of his Lordships Council and of Several of the Great Men of the Indians the day and Year above Written and the Great Seal of this Province is hereunto Affixed.

The Mark of X Simon Sam Ogle

The Mark of X Captain John

Nanticoke Confer with Governor Hamilton [10]

At a Conference with the Indians in the State House, Philadelphia, Thursday 14th August, 1760

Present:

The Honourable JAMES HAMILTON, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor.

Richard Peters, Esquire

Robert White
John White
George White
William James
Abraham Siscoe
Jacob Sinoscoe
} Nantycokes

Robert Andom
Mansieus
Manassee
} Conoys

Robert White, after making an Apology for his bad English addressed the Governor as follows:

[10] *Penna. Col. Records,* VIII, 492-494.

"Brother:

"We are of your Brethren, the Nantycokes and Conoys, who live at Chenango, on the upper Waters of sasquehannah. We are not Chiefs, nor are we come on any great Matter of Business.* Many of our principal Men are gone with Sir William Johnson to War, and We come to pay our Brethren at Philadelphia a friendly Visit.

"Brother:

"I clean your Eyes that you may see me as clearly as at the first. I put my hand into your throat and pull out everything that sticks there that might hinder you from speaking. I likewise clear your heart, that there may be a free passage from it. This being the old place where the Council Fire has always Burned, I clear the Floor, Seats and everything in the Council Chamber, that you may sit as clean and easy as before. I remember all the Clouds that for some time past have hindered us from seeing the Sun. I pray God may help us all to dispel these quite, that the Sun may Shine as bright as ever."

[At this point he handed a string of wampum to the governor]

"Brother:

"We come to acquaint you that we have a good disposition for Peace. Our Grand Fathers always lived in Love and Friendship with the English. They are dead; they were wise people. We are not indeed so wise as they, but We have very good hearts towards our Brethren, and desire to follow the Good Example of our Grandfathers, in living on the same good terms, and with the same friendliness with you as they did. And in token hereof, We do By this Belt clear the road from the Place where we live at, Chenango, to this City. We remove out of it all sorts of nastiness. We will not leave any bad or wickedness in it, that both you and we may travel in it with the utmost safety. We are very sincere in what We now say, and speak from our hearts; and We include herein all the people Who live with us, as well as the Six Nations as other Indians; they are all heartily desirous that the road may be made perfectly clear."

[He handed the governor a belt of wampum]

"Brother:

"There have been some Indians here before us, who live nearer you than We, at a place called Waghaloosen [Wyalusing.] We heard they had been here, but did not hear what they said to you. We have been under a good deal of Concern on their Account for these two or three Years; We are right glad they came to you of themselves, and We hope they have spoken good Words to you."**

* White was recognized as a chief, and his remark on this occasion should be interpreted to mean that he did not claim to be a Six Nations chief.

** White was referring to a band of Munsey then settled at Wyalusing with some Delawares. Apparently they were part of the faction that had been on the warpath, and still had white prisoners in their possession.

[He handed another string of wampum]

"What little we had to say is now finished, and tomorrow morning We think of going home again."

After some pause, Robert White arose and spoke again.

"Brother:

"Where we live is a poor place, We have hardly anything to eat or drink. And the Town thro' which we pass to come here, are as poor as we; It is true they have a supply of Flower from Shamoken, but it is so little that they can allow us Nothing out of it; We desire our Brethren will consider our Circumstances, and give us something to take home with us as well as to subsist on upon the Road."

Robert White acquainted the Governor that one Jno. Royal now present came to their Town a Year ago along with a German, one Samuel Loots, and they told them they would live with them if they pleased to receive them; It seems they were two soldiers belonging to the fourth Battallion of Royal Americans, in Garrison at Oswego, and that they deserted from thence after the action at Niagra.

Robert White added that the other soldier was left behind sick and might be dead by this time. As to Regal, as he was one of their Brethren, they gave him no Encouragement to continue with them, tho' they should be glad of his stay, as he was a Good Man and had been sent of Errands by them, but they left this entirely to the good will of the Governor; Regal might either stay here or return with them to Chenango as the Governor should give directions, but if he returned it would be necessary he should have a Discharge, or he might be taken up and hanged or Shot.

Robert White said they had likewise with them a French prisoner taken at Niagra, and in the division of Prisoners given to them by Sir William Johnson, and was adopted among them, and belonged to one of the Indians now present.

[The following day Governor Hamilton made his answer to the Indians, giving them assurance of his friendship, and exchanging belts and strings of wampum. He gave them a belt of beads "to clear the road between Philadelphia and Chenango" so that the Indians would have free access to his counsel. He also gave them a present of goods.]

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON AND GOVERNOR HORATIO SHARPE OF MARYLAND RELATIVE TO SALE OF NANTICOKE LANDS ON THE EASTERN SHORE[11]

Sir William Johnson to Governor Sharpe, May 1, 1767

Sir,

Immediately on receipt of the Answers to my Letters concerning the Expence of Calling the Indians together, I dispatched Messengers to them, and have received an Account of their being on their way, but that they have been greatly retarded by the Extraordinary floods, however, I daily Expect to hear of their arrival at the frontiers where I am to meet them. Altho I sent for the Chiefs only, yet I find that a Considerable number beside are on their way.

This Letter is to go by the Nanticokes from Otsiningo near the head of the Susquehanna River, who go to your Government in order to bring off their people to Joyn them at their present residence. I am fully persuaded you will give them all the Assistance and protection you can, and direct how their rights there are to be disposed of, which they are desirous of Selling as the Tuscaroras did who left N. Carolina. Acts of Justice and kindness to these people particularly when the Indians in general appear discontented with the conduct of many of the frontier Inhabitants cannot fail having a good effect. I have furnished them with a Passport for their Journey, and heartily wish they may pass unmolested.

I am, with Esteem Sir, your

most obedient & Very Humble Servant

William Johnson

Governor Sharpe to Col. Henry Ennalls and Charles Dickinson in Dorchester County, July 13, 1767

Gentlemen

This will be presented to you by some Indians who formerly lived in this Province but have for some years resided at a place called Otsiningo near the head of Sisquehannan having been incorporated with the Six Nations several of whom now accompany them* in order to give

* The names of these Indians were: James, George, Sam, John, Parish, Strikewood, Old Kettle, Joshua, Little George, John Siscomb, Captain and Ketty. Governor Sharp furnished them with gifts of merchandise equivalent to a little more than £12.

[11] *Maryland Archives*, XXXII, 209-211.

an Invitation to the Indians that still remain in this Province to relinquish their Lands here and go back and settle with them at Otsiningo.

They alledge that the Indians at Locust Neck and on Nanticoke sent lately to their Brethren of the Six Nations to come for them and carry them back so that they may live together and be one People and expect to find them willing and ready to go in case they may be permitted to sell their Right to the Lands which they hold in Somerset and Dorchester Counties by Virtue of Grants from the Lord Proprietary and Sundry Acts of Assembly which you know are appropriated to their use on certain Conditions therein mentioned.

Tho' I cannot before the Assembly meets proceed so far as to make an Absolute Agreement with the Nanticoke and Choptank Indians for their Rights to the several Tracts they occupy should they be all willing to sell and remove out of the Province yet as Sir William Johnson desires I will suffer them to depart and also permit them to dispose of their Rights. I have signified to the Indians who are come from Otsiningo that they may pursue their Journey to Choptank and Nanticoke to meet and talk with the Indians that live there and also to take them away if the latter are willing to go but not to use any Compulsary Methods.

Presuming that you are acquainted with the Lands held or claimed by the Nanticoke and Choptank Indians and that you know the Principal People among them I take the Liberty to desire you will be present at the Meeting of these Indians with those who dwell on Choptank and Nanticoke and rather encourage the latter to accept of the others' Invitation than discourage them from going, for I have no doubt but the assembly when it meets will be inclined to make them some Compensation for their Right to the Land which on their relinquishing it is to be at the Assembly's Disposal and suppose that the Persons who are to succeed to such Land as on the Indians' Departure will fall to the descendants of the Original Grantees will not be averse to making them likewise some Compensation. If therefore you find that all the Indians at present in Possession are willing to relinquish all their Pretensions and go away I recommend it to you to learn from them if you can what they would consider as a Satisfaction for their Right to the several and respective Tracts, I should also be glad to know the real Value of those Several Tracts the Quantity contained in each the Improvements there-

on to what Person parts thereof are leased and on what Terms. As it hath been represented to me that some White Persons who are settled on the Indians' Land have not paid them any Rent for several Years particularly Mary Crutchet and one Adams I hope you will take the trouble to make enquiry and if you find that the Indians have just Cause of Complaint against those Persons or any others exert yourselves so that the Indians may have Justice done them. The Indian called Sam tells me that they have a Claim to some Land at the head of Wiccomoco about four Miles below Venable's Mill but that the English several Years ago took Possession of it without making ang purchase, if upon Enquiry you find that Fact was as he represents it to be pleased to inform me who are at present in Possession of the Land and how many Acres the Tract is supposed to contain

I am Gentlemen
Your most humble Servant
Hor Sharpe

Mr. Ogden the Bearer hereof being appointed by Sir William Johnson to Conduct eleven Indians from the Six Nations to Dorchester and Somerset Counties in this Province in order to confer with the Indians that reside on Choptank and Nanticoke and invite them to remove to Otsiningo I earnestly recommend it to all Officers and other Persons within this Province to permit the said eleven Indians with their Conductor to pass and repass freely thro' this Province also to supply them with such Provisions as they may want for which they are to produce their Accounts to the Assembly at the next Session. 13th July 1767
Hor Sharpe

Sir William Johnson to Governor Sharpe, March 25, 1768.

Sir

The Bearer Capt Ogden has made me a Visit on the Subject of your letter of August last concerning the disposal of the Lands of the Nanticokes lying in your Province, since the receipt of which letter I find that these Indians have an inclination to dispose of their Rights there, and as they are for the most part removed, and that it will be for the Advantage of the Colony, I cannot but approve of it, as I do of Capt Ogden as their Attorney to transact that business, so that you will please to lay the same before your Assembly agreablt to the proposal contained

in your Letter. I need not to recommend the making them a handsome compensation for the Sale, as doubtless it will be duely attended to. But in answer to your Queries must add, That such Sale may be made by Capt Ogden at Annapolis in the presence of such Persons as you shall direct, at which time the purchase money may be paid to him in trust for the Indians, whom I shall direct to Assemble (on his return) at Otseningo, or some Convenient place, where he shall be in the presence of the whole Tribe & an officer of my Department distribute the money Justly amongst them, taking two Setts of proper receipts, the one being sent to you & the other to be lodged in my Secretary's Office, After which, they can never think of laying any future Claim to the Tract. I have now furnished Capt Ogden with a short power in my name for negotiating this matter, and I shall take such further steps herein as may be necessary, so soon as the purchase is made.

Governor Sharpe to Sir William Johnson, August 20, 1767.

Sir

The Letter you were pleased to write to Me the 1st of May last having been presented a few Weeks ago by eleven Indians from Otsiningo who were conducted hither by Mr. Ogden being on their way to Dorchester, Somerset & Worcester Counties in this Province where all the Indians remaining among us reside, I not only gave Orders for their being treated with kindness & furnished with provisions as they should pass & repass thro the Province but also made them a Present of some Cloaths they appeared to be in Want of & recommended it to some Gentlemen who I apprehended had some Influence with our Indians to encourage them to accept the Invitations those Ambassadors came to give them, but as the Lands our Indians possess are confirmed to them by Acts of Assembly to beheld so long as any of them shall choose to reside on them & then to revert some of them to original Patentees, others to the Lord Proprietary & the Residue to be at the Disposal of the General Assembly, I could not take upon me to enter into any Treaty with those Indians about the Sale of their Right to the Lands they occupy at present in this Province it being necessary that the Affair should be referred to the Assembly & that the Acts by Virtue of which the Indians here now hold their Land should be repealed previous to their offering it for sale; if upon their Return they should represent to you that their Brethern here are willing to relinquish their Land & to go back to Otsiningo & you should thereupon think it fit to impower Mr. Ogden or some other

Person on their behalf to come hither about the Middle of October next when our Assembly will be sitting & to make an Agreement about the Sale of their Land you may be assured I will recommend it to the Assembly to give them a reasonable Compensation for their Right to the Land & in case They shall one & all be willing to relinquish should they sell to whom pray is the purchase Money to be paid or how divided among them, will any besides those who actually reside in the Province at this time set up pretensions to it or may it all be paid to them, I should be glad to know your Sentiments with regard to those particulars & what Measures you apprehend will be most satisfactory to them.

Horatio Sharpe

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